

JANA VOBECKÁ

Demographic Avant - Garde

JEWS IN BOHEMIA
BETWEEN
THE ENLIGHTENMENT AND THE SHOAH



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Demographic Avant-Garde

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**Jews in Bohemia between
the Enlightenment and the Shoah**

Jana Vobecká



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*To my mother, Jitka,
and my father, Jan.*

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Preface

This book studies the unique demographic behavior of Jews in Bohemia, starting from a moment in history when industrialization in Central Europe was still far away in the future and when Jews were still living legally restricted lives in segregated ghettos. Very early on, from the eighteenth century onwards, Jews developed patterns of decreasing mortality and fertility not observed among the gentile majority in Bohemia; patterns which established them as a demographic *avant-garde* population in all of Europe. Industrialization and increasing earnings are the reasons most often cited by demographers aiming to explain the onset of demographic transitions in history, whereby populations shift from a pattern of high fertility and high mortality to one of consciously restricted fertility and low mortality. But in the case of the Jews in Bohemia, these explanatory factors are of little help—simply because Jews started their transition *decades before* industrialization. This book explains what made Jews in Bohemia true forerunners of the demographic transition and why this occurred when it did. It follows in detail Jewish population trends in Bohemia from the mid-eighteenth to the mid-twentieth century and examines what made them distinct from the trends observed in the gentile community and among Jews in other lands.

To do so, this book focuses on the larger societal context of demographic change—the cultural, social, political, and economic environment. The peculiar position of Jews as permanent strangers throughout history, in Bohemia as elsewhere, was embedded in their religious and cultural tradition, and reinforced by the legal restrictions imposed by rulers on what occupations they could hold, where they could settle, and what rights they enjoyed. The Jews served as middlemen in the host societies, providing services and holding occupations that gentiles were unwilling or un-

able to do themselves. In Bohemia, then a small Central European land that was often a part of larger political entities, a Jewish community had existed for about a thousand years, with Prague as its cultural and economic center. Unlike in Britain, France, Spain, and Austria, Jews were never effectively banned from Bohemia. They never witnessed large waves of immigration of fellow Jews from other countries, the way Poland did in the Middle Ages, or Hungary, Austria, France, Britain, and many other Western European countries and the United States did in the nineteenth century. It is the physical and cultural continuity of the Jewish population in Bohemia that makes it an ideal case for studying demographic developments over time. During the period this book focuses on, Bohemia was a part of the Habsburg Monarchy, and in 1918, after the Monarchy's demise, it became a part of the Czechoslovak Republic. In 1938 and 1939, the Nazis occupied Bohemia, pre-war Czechoslovakia was dissolved, and Bohemia became a part of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia until the end of the war in 1945. During this period, between the Enlightenment and the Shoah, the Jewish community went through an extraordinary sequence of changes. This book provides an insight into the effect these changes had on Jewish demographic development.

The concept of a demographic avant-garde is central to this book. Although "avant-garde" is not a term often used in demography, it precisely evokes the behavior of populations who were among the first to adopt a reproduction model that subsequently became nearly universal around the globe, in the process called demographic transition. Jews in Bohemia have never been studied thus far as the avant-garde of this demographic transition. While they share with the best-known forerunner of that transition, the population of France, the timing of a sustained decline in fertility, their mortality conditions were better than those in France. Other populations in Europe, such as the nobility, the urban bourgeoisie, or Jews in Italy or elsewhere, may have exhibited similar avant-garde tendencies to limit fertility early on, but the evidence is simply too sparse, the populations too small, or the time series too short to properly identify any of these groups as demographic forerunners. The theory of demographic transition, based on the assumption of an inevitable transition from high to low fertility and mortality regime at a certain stage of societal development, dominates our understanding of past and future population change in the world. Demographers, economists, and historians are still debating what the causes of the transition are and whether they are universal. I argue there is a core set of factors that must be present in order for the demographic transition to be completed in any given population, and I discuss these factors throughout the book.

The analysis of Bohemian Jews developed here goes beyond conventional demography studies in a number of ways. First, it covers a long time span—two hundred years, stretching from the mid-eighteenth century to the years just before World War II. This exceptionally long time span provides room to study every stage of the demographic transition. Most other studies of the demographic transition in Europe restrict themselves to the end of the nineteenth century and the twentieth century because of data limitations. But this period is simply too late for the demographic forerunners in Europe: by that time they had mostly completed their own demographic transition. Second, this book pays special attention to the wider societal and cultural context in which the demographic changes happened. These factors are sometimes neglected in demographic analysis, even though it is impossible to really explain many demographic processes without them. Third, this book is the first to map, analyze, and publish a complete set of data on the Jewish population in Bohemia, derived from official statistical publications from the mid-eighteenth to the mid-twentieth century. The aggregated data presented here enable an analysis of the *entire* Jewish population in Bohemia over a long time span. The drawback is that the level of detail the analysis can go into depends heavily on the quality and structure of the published data. Most of the data used in the book were extracted directly from primary data sources deposited in the National Archives of the Czech Republic. Fourth, given the comparative nature of this analysis, the population development of Jews is continuously contrasted with the total population in Bohemia. Where data are available, comparisons with other Central European Jewry are also presented.

The book is divided into three parts. The first part provides an overview of the background knowledge necessary to understand population development and the context of Jewish population dynamics in Bohemia. Chapter 1 looks at past demographic change, introduces the concept of the demographic transition and the competing theories surrounding it, and reviews existing studies on forerunners of the demographic transition elsewhere. Chapter 2 focuses on the historical context and briefly describes the history of Jews in Bohemia. Chapter 3 presents the available data sources, and comments on their quality, completeness, and reliability.

The second part of the book is fully devoted to an analysis of the demographic structure and dynamics of the Jewish population in Bohemia, in comparison with gentiles and with Jewish populations in other countries. Chapters 4 through 9 analyze Jewish population growth and spatial distribution, the population structure (by age, sex, and marital

status), nuptiality and divorces, fertility, mortality, migration and religious disaffiliation, and acculturation.

The third part is devoted to the analysis of Jewish social and economic characteristics and their role in the country's economy. Chapters 10 to 12 set out to explain the specific position of Jews in gentile society and the impact that the post-1848 legal emancipation of Jews had not only on their professional structure but also on their culture, ethnic identity, schooling, and social status. Each analytical chapter in parts two and three is summed up in bullet-point conclusions so that the reader can easily familiarize him- or herself with the contents of the chapter. Numerous tables, figures, and appendices that illustrate the findings accompany the analyses, which can serve as data sources for other researchers' analyses.

The book is written by a demographer and is primarily about population development and demographic transition. But it does not exclusively address a professional demographic audience. Rather, it has been written in a style explicitly aimed at informed lay readers not necessarily trained in demography, but who have a keen interest in social history, the history of Central Europe, Jewish history, and modernization.

Acknowledgment

This book is the outcome of my interest in the history of Bohemia, the small land in the heart of Europe where I come from, and my interest as a demographer in the patterns and causes of human reproduction across time, space, and place. I first started studying the population development of the Jews in Bohemia in 2003 and returned to it several times while working on other sociological and demographic topics. This book would not have been possible without the support of a number of institutions and individuals to whom I would like to express my gratitude.

For providing an excellent working environment and support during different stages of work on the manuscript, I would like to thank Charles University in Prague, the Hlávka Foundation in Prague, the Institute of Sociology of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, the Institute of Advanced Study at Collegium Budapest, the Vienna Institute of Demography of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, and the Wittgenstein Centre for Demography and Global Human Capital in Vienna.

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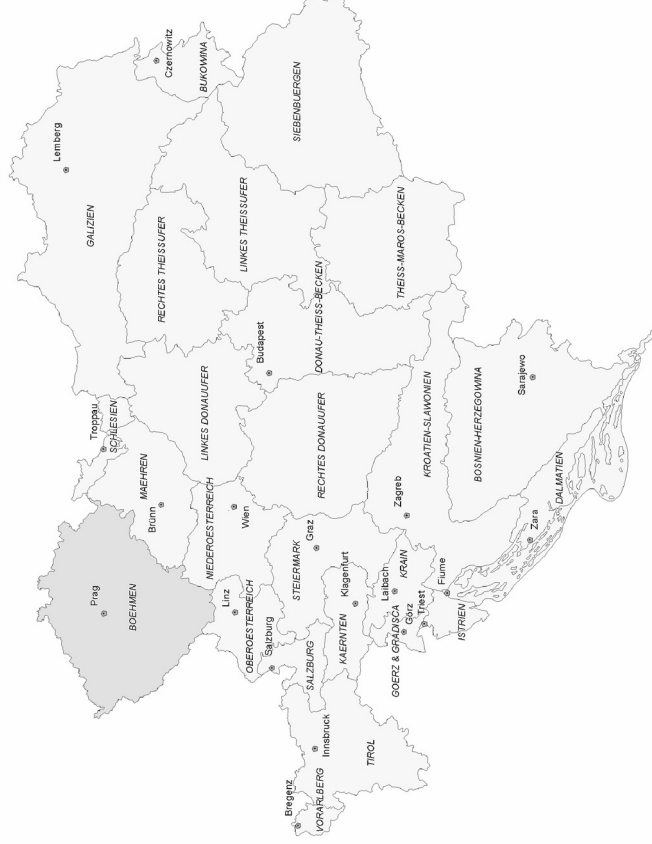
An earlier version of this book was published in Czech in 2007 in the study series of the Hlávka Foundation under the title *Populační vývoj Židů v Čechách v 19. a první třetině 20. století*. The current book differs markedly from the previous version.

A Note on Place Names

Most names of places that were a part of the former Habsburg Monarchy had several language equivalents. In Bohemia most places had Czech as well as German names. In this book, I use the *current names* of the places, so in the case of places in Bohemia I use their Czech names, in case of places in Poland their Polish names, etc. It is a mere result of individual choice and also a reflection of the fact that the book covers both periods when German and Czech names' equivalents were predominantly used. For those readers who are more familiar with the German equivalents, I put those in the brackets the first time the name appears in the book. The exception to this rule is names of places that are commonly known under their English equivalent such as Prague, Vienna, Bohemia, or Lower Austria.

When I address Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia together, I call that territory the *Bohemian lands*. Elsewhere in the literature this territory is also addressed as the Lands of the Bohemian Crown or the Czech lands. Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia (after 1742 just the part of Silesia that remained in the Habsburg Monarchy) share a common history and form the current Czech Republic. I call *Habsburg Monarchy* all the territory that was under the rule of the Austrian Habsburg dynasty. I call *Austrian Crown lands* or Crown lands the Austrian part of the Habsburg Monarchy after the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867. I call *Hungary* both the territory of the Lands of the Crown of Saint Stephen (before 1918) and the state of Hungary that succeeded the breakup of the Habsburg Monarchy. The context makes it always clear of which unit I speak. I use *Ruthenia* to address the most eastern territory of Czechoslovakia between the world wars (see Figure 2). This territory is also known under the names Podkarpatská Rus in Czech, Carpathian Ruthenia, Carpatho-Ukraine, or Zakarpattia in English.

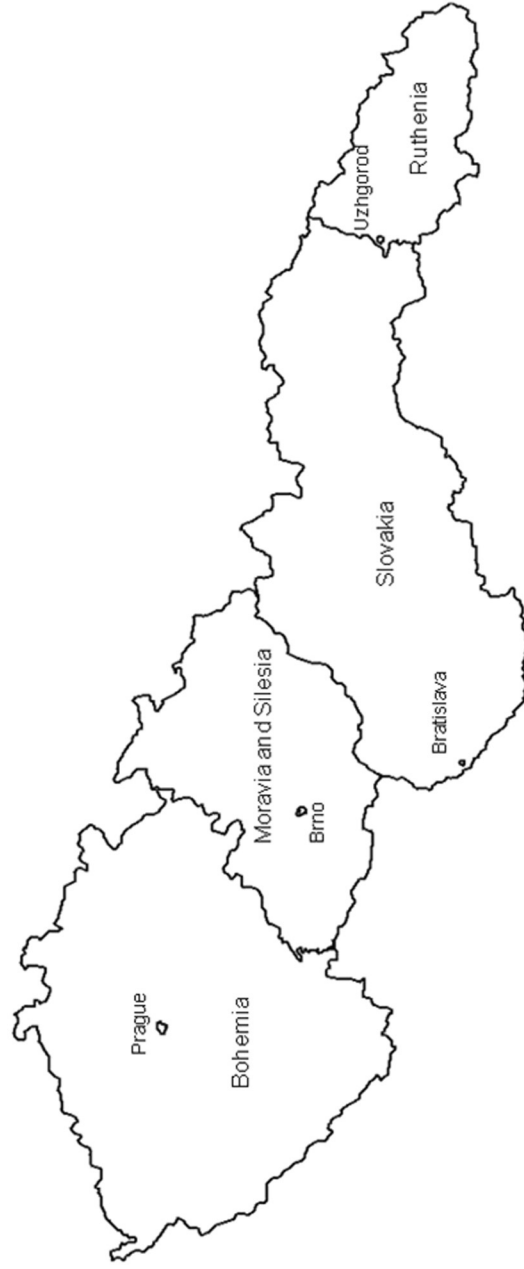
Figure 1: Habsburg Monarchy, its lands and their capital cities, 1910



Note: The lands with indicated capital cities are part of the Austrian Crown lands. Croatia (Kroatien-Slawonien) and the other lands are part of the Hungarian Kingdom (result of the Compromise from 1867).

Source: Rumpel and Seger (2010), author.

Figure 2: Czechoslovakia, its lands and capital cities, 1918–1938



Source: Author.

PART 1.

**The Concept of
a Demographic Avant-Garde:
Three Keys**

CHAPTER 1

Population Change, Demographic Transition, and Its Forerunners

This book spans the long period between the middle of the eighteenth century and the first three decades of the twentieth. Throughout Europe, this was a time when modern society was taking shape and when the absolutism, centralized governance, and feudalism of the early modern era were in decline and the early stages of capitalism and industrialization were under way. It was a period marked by political revolutions that resulted in the establishment of universal civil rights and the advancement of technological progress, social mobility, and institutional change. These political and macro-economic changes affected the wellbeing, status, lifestyle, and aspirations of individuals and families. On both the macro- and micro- levels, modernization shaped demographic development and led to a qualitative change in reproductive behavior that is known as the “demographic transition.”

Jewish populations in many European countries were affected not just by the overarching modernization of gentile society but also by the Jewish reform movement (*Haskalah*). The first brought Jews civic freedom, while the second led to a wider engagement in the secular world and altered the Jews’ relationship to the traditional religious orthodoxy. At the same time their demographic behavior was changing. The demographic changes that Jews went through are relatively well traceable, as censuses often distinguished the population by religious denomination, and Jewish population registers were maintained separately from those of the gentiles. Before getting into a detailed examination of the demographic and socio-economic aspects of Jewish population development, let us look first at the general lines of demographic development across the centuries and the various interpretations and theories of demographic transition.

Demographic Development and the Concept of Demographic Transition

Estimates of world population growth (Bachi 1976, Coale 1986, Biraben 2006) since approximately the start of the Common Era show that for centuries population size stagnated with population growth slightly above zero. This is so because both the fertility rate and the mortality rate were high. Not until the middle of the seventeenth century do we begin to see slight growth, followed by a sharp increase in the middle of the eighteenth century, when world population growth is estimated to have been around seven people per thousand per year (Coale 1986). Population growth continued to accelerate and reached its peak in the 1960s at nearly twenty people per thousand annually. Since then, the rate of increase has decreased slightly. It is no accident that rapid population growth coincided with the start of the industrial age and modernization. The early stage of world population growth was due to rapid increases among Europeans and among the population of European origin overseas. Changes in population growth have been caused by a shift in the balance between fertility and mortality rates and more generally by changing reproductive behavior, all of which are collectively referred to as the “demographic transition” (Notestein 1945, Davis 1945). This transition has gradually occurred in nearly every country in the world. The focus here is on the circumstances of the demographic transition in Europe, as this is the relevant frame for the Jewish demographic transition.

In the past two centuries the European population has undergone a transition from a pattern of relatively high fertility and high mortality to one of moderate fertility and low mortality. European populations have completed a virtual loop from moderate growth or stagnation to high population growth and back to demographic stagnation again. The timing, sequencing, and speed of fertility and mortality changes influenced the pace of population growth during the transition. In Europe four stages of population development can be identified (Bachi 1976, Vallin 2006, Biraben 2006):

- Stage 1: the pre-modern era, when population growth was small or non-existent;
- Stage 2: rapid population growth, coinciding with the early stage of modernization;
- Stage 3: decelerating but continued growth, until approximately the 1970s;

Stage 4: the onset of stagnation or actual population decreases and population ageing, from the 1970s onwards.

All populations in Europe today are in Stage 4. Some populations in the world have not yet reached this stage and are still in Stage 3 or even in Stage 2. However, every population is expected to eventually reach Stage 4. Fertility and mortality rates are the main factors regulating population growth. Mortality is determined by environment, way of life, and technology, and it had a large variation among primitive and traditional societies (Caldwell 1976). Women's fertility is affected by numerous factors that are not so easy to enumerate and whose influence is often not easy to measure; in general these are biological infertility, parity and nonparity-specific limitation of births, and marriage customs. Parity-specific limitation means that couples modify their behavior in order to avoid having more children once they have a certain number—the maximum desired (Henry 1961). They do this usually by using some form of contraception or abortion. Nonparity-specific limitation includes any circumstance or form of behavior that reduces the chances of conception or increases the interval between births—circumstances or behavior that are not modified according to the number of births that have already taken place (*ibid.*) (such as the duration of breastfeeding or the duration of abstinence after delivering a child). When most childbearing takes place inside marriage, marriage customs play a role. Customs pertaining to marriage formation and termination influence the average number of children that can be born to women of reproductive age. The interplay of the determinants of fertility and mortality that characterizes the four stages of European population development is traditionally interpreted as follows:

Stage 1 (pre-modern): Until the end of the seventeenth century, and in some parts of Europe until the eighteenth century, reproduction was characterized by moderate fertility. Late marriage, permanent celibacy, and non-parity-specific controls of marital fertility kept the reproduction rate from soaring (Coale 1986). Parity-specific fertility controls existed but were rare, according to Coale (1986). This fertility pattern was combined with high mortality, particularly of infants. This form of reproduction results in small natural increases. There were also frequent temporary fluctuations caused by adverse external factors such as epidemics, wars, or plagues.

Stage 2 (rapid population growth): In Europe this stage lasted roughly until the end of the nineteenth century and was characterized by declining infant and general mortality and only a slow or later decrease in fertility. This created room for high natural increases and population growth.

Stage 3 (the deceleration of population growth): Until roughly the 1970s, fertility was decreasing as a result of the widespread adoption of the parity-specific practices of contraception or abortion. Mortality continued to decline. The rate of natural increase was positive but was beginning to decelerate, as was population growth. At this point the European population moved to a regime of low fertility and mortality.

Stage 4 (stagnation): Europe to date has a deliberately very low fertility rate and low infant and general mortality. The result is close to zero natural increase or even decrease, and moderate or stagnating population growth.

The gradual transition from Stage 2 to Stages 3 and 4 characterizes the demographic transition, and its course and timing vary from one population to the next. This variation causes differences in the numerical population gains over Stages 2 and 3. If the mortality decrease happens more or less simultaneously with the fertility decrease, the population gains are small (e.g. the case of France). Where the fertility decline is either delayed or even turns into growth at a time of mortality reduction, a population can multiply its initial size many times (e.g. the case of Britain).

Uncovering the factors that *caused* the onset of the demographic transition in European countries and later elsewhere is somewhat more complicated than describing its course. As for the mortality transition, a basic precondition for its decline is the establishment of public order, and a decrease in the incidence of local wars, tribal and clan feuds, and random violence (Kirk 1996). This became possible in Europe with the consolidation of absolute monarchies. Their centralized power and control over their whole territory facilitated the even spread of innovation, transportation infrastructure, and trade. Coale (1986, 24) concludes that the mortality decrease was made possible by the rise of modern science, advances in ocean navigation, and the expansion of world trade. These developments, according to Coale, made it possible to supply Europe with food from overseas and introduced potatoes and other nutritious crops to the continent. Improvements in transportation, agricultural technology, and manufacturing helped to ensure a supply of goods for a growing European population and diminished the impact of poor harvests. Advances in medicine (the development of a smallpox vaccine), hygiene, and water purification contributed to a gradual rise in life expectancy in the early nineteenth century. Further medical advances in the late nineteenth century led to an even faster decline in mortality. After World War II, the spread of antibiotics helped to reduce mortality from external and avoidable diseases to a very low rate across Europe.

Explaining the causes of fertility decline is a more complex issue. Demographers, sociologists, economists, and historians are still debating today what mechanisms preceded and triggered the sustained fertility decline and to what extent these mechanisms are universal. The arguments can be classified roughly in two categories that can be called forced adjustment and attitudinal evolution. As Carlsson (1966) summarizes it, adjustment hypotheses fertility control primarily as a forced reaction to changes in the economic and social environment, that is, in external, out-of-household stimuli. By contrast, attitudinal evolution hypotheses stress the voluntary changes that make parity-specific limitation normatively acceptable. Both types of explanations note that the transition has its forerunners and followers. But the arguments about the mechanisms and timing of the spread of reproductive changes are different. According to the adjustment explanation, the lag is due to the different timing of the impact of social and economic change on geographically or socially remote population subgroups. The attitudinal evolution concept interprets the lag as an effect of the imitation and diffusion of ideas, attitudes, and modes of behavior. The causes of the demographic transition are at once of a social, economic, cultural, and ideational nature, but they are too closely intertwined to be distinguishable (Kirk 1996). All these agents of change constantly interact and influence not only demographic processes but also each other and create a dynamic system of social change. Moreover demographic changes can also be causes, and not just consequences, of societal changes (Goldscheider 1971). The search for a general theory of the fertility transition (and demographic transition in general) is further complicated by the fact that its timing and sequencing vary across different times and places and in different social, religious, or ethnic groups. This is not only true when comparing the European fertility transition in the nineteenth century with populations in other times and regional contexts, but also when comparing European populations with each other. Another problem is that there were also large differences in pre-modern fertility across Europe. These can be only partly explained by the differences in the share of women of childbearing age who were married. The remaining differences make direct comparisons of the timing and the cause of the decline difficult.

The theory of the demographic transition was first formulated by Warren Thompson (1929), but Notestein (1945) and Davis (1945) are most often considered to be the ones who developed more elaborate concepts of the demographic transition's course and causes. The mainstream arguments of the theory are "that fertility is high in poor, traditional societies

because of high mortality, the lack of opportunities for individual advancement, and the economic value of children. All these things change in modernization and urban industrialism, and individuals, once their viewpoint becomes reoriented to the changes that have taken place, can make use of the new opportunities” (Caldwell 1976, 324). This classic interpretation relies on an argument that contrasts traditional with modern, urbanized, and industrialized societies, describing the former as irrational and fatalistic and the latter as rational; the former as practicing mostly unintentional fertility limitation (non-parity limitation) and the latter as practicing parity limitation (Coale 1986). The main cause of the transition is deemed to be modernization and industrialization, which led to mortality decline and ushered in changes in values, attitudes, and family roles and structures. However persuasive these arguments may sound, when tested empirically they are rarely supported by the data and often seem too vague; for example, they leave unexplained what modernization exactly is and what causes the population and individuals to change their previous values.

A major contribution to the study of the fertility transition was the European Fertility Project initiated by Ansley Coale at Princeton University in the 1960s. Its main findings were published in Coale and Watkins (1986), accompanied by a number of other supporting studies. The goals of this project were to describe and explain differences in the fertility transition in European regions and to come up with a sound and exhausting interpretation. Many, however, criticized the conclusions of the European Fertility Project. The most important points of critique were that the findings of the study clearly point to a cultural rather than an economic interpretation of fertility decline, but that the whole project was not designed to measure a cultural hypothesis (Kirk 1996). Another point of criticism honed in on the fact that much importance was given to diffusion process as the explanation of fertility decline, but that the mechanisms of diffusion were left unexplained (Preston 1987). Others criticized the choice of geographical units for the analysis, which were considered to be too large and consequently masked important socio-economic differences as causes of the fertility decline (Brown and Guinnane 2007). Despite all these criticisms, there is a wealth of findings from the European Fertility Project that are widely accepted, among them the findings that: (1) the fertility transition occurred under strikingly diverse socio-economic conditions; (2) innovation and diffusion played an important role in the fertility transition onset and spread; (3) family limitation was not practiced and was perhaps even unknown among broad sections of the population before the

decline in fertility began; (4) once the fertility decline started it was an irreversible process; (5) cultural settings influence the onset and spread of fertility decline independently of socio-economic conditions (Kirk 1996, Knodel and van de Walle 1979).

The role of mortality was slightly neglected in the European Fertility Project even though it is generally considered to be a precondition of fertility decline. Research examining how mortality impacts fertility is relatively rare. Empirical studies have shown that the relationship of mortality to fertility decline is rather indirect. On the individual level, it has not been proved that families in the past accommodated the number of children ever born to the number of surviving children in the family (Lutz 1987). It is rather assumed that lower mortality and morbidity had an important psychological effect that decreased the level of fatalism and strengthened the belief that humans can control their environment and their own destinies. Rising life expectancy also had economic implications in improved productivity and economic development (Kirk 1996).

Another branch of researchers underlined the importance of the rational economic calculus of the benefits of having children. If the costs exceed the benefits, the rational reaction is to limit the number of children. This supply and demand calculus could also include non-pecuniary elements such as emotions and social control (Easterlin 1978). Caldwell (1976) concurrently developed the idea of what was economically beneficial and rational behavior, claiming that both traditional and modern populations acted rationally in their fertility behavior. But what they differed in was the direction of the intergenerational wealth flow. As long as the flow was from younger to older generations, having more children was advantageous, but when that flow changed direction, smaller families were preferable. Caldwell also made an influential distinction between modernization and Westernization. Modernization signifies economic and technological advances, but does not necessarily need to have an impact on the fertility transition. Westernization means the adoption of the ideas and values of progress, secularization, mass education, and domination of the environment. From the demographic viewpoint, the most important new value adopted relates to the primacy of the nuclear family, with its strong conjugal ties and concerns about and expenditures on one's children (Caldwell 1976).

Ideational and cultural change as the prerequisites for fertility decline is something that has also been underlined by Lesthaeghe in his concept of "Ready, Willing, Able," which combines the approaches of both adjustment and attitudinal evolution, both the economic and the normative di-

mensions. In Lesthaeghe's understanding, "readiness" pertains to the micro-economic calculus of costs and benefits, much like the economic interpretations of the transition, "willingness" refers to the normative (religious, ethical) acceptability of the new pattern, and "able" is about the availability of the methods of fertility reduction and the affordability of their costs (including psychological costs) (Lesthaeghe and Vanderhoeft 2001). According to an alternative viewpoint, the attitudinal change in reproductive behavior is an issue of cohort succession (Lesthaeghe and Surkyn 1988). Like religiosity, reproductive attitudes are formed during a person's teenage years and in early adulthood, and once formed these value frames are unlikely to change later in life. According to this theory, ideational change in the fertility transition is a generational issue. However, as Schellekens and van Poppel have proved (2012), fertility changes are not immune to contemporary socio-economic changes.

In sum, interpretations of the dominant causes of the fertility decline are plentiful and none of them is actually able to capture all the causal factors. There are no two countries or populations that have followed the same path of demographic transition with the same mix of triggers. However, this diversity should not mask the common base of what actually makes the demographic transition a theory, which, although it cannot predict the timing and speed of the transition, can point out the preconditions required for it to occur, even if they are not necessarily always sufficient on their own. The necessary preconditions for the fertility transition are:

- 1) Mortality decline;
- 2) Irreversibility of the fertility transition once it has started;
- 3) The adoption of "Western" values, which include the idea of the nuclear family as the dominant social unit, declining religious orthodoxy and fatalism, increased individualism, and the desire to invest in the wellbeing of one's children.

Socio-economic and ideational factors are an inherent and essential precondition for the demographic transition. From the outside individuals may seem to behave rationally, and to be responding to socio-economic and ideational stimuli, but in my view, people rather try to accommodate existing economic, social, and cultural conditions, without giving much rational thought to them. The three above-mentioned preconditions represent elements that are themselves in perpetual transition; they interact with each other and are in a state of constant flux. Individual behavior is a reaction to these intertwined changes. Values, attitudes, and social expecta-

tions are more stable and change more slowly, whereas socio-economic conditions may change from one day to the next. Accommodating the pressures of sudden change may override existing attitudes and strategies and modify them, but the value change may occur at a slower pace than the changes in actual behavior. In the course of the transition a conflict may arise between values and actual behavior. But if it is true that once the fertility transition is under way it is irreversible, values sooner or later have to accommodate behavior.

Within countries and in their populations there are always forerunners of demographic change. These are the people who make changes to their reproductive behavior that no one else makes because no one else finds the changes suited to their particular situation. These forerunners are people for whom the mix of socio-economic and ideational conditions changes earlier than for others. At the same time these people also perceive earlier on that the mix of conditions is changing and that their strategies need to accommodate these changes. Who is the demographic avant-garde and what kind of change occurs in the mix of conditions that makes it alter its demographic behavior, in a manner that is without precedent and without imitation?

Previous Studies on Demographic Forerunners

Previous studies on demographic forerunners have been based on various regions, periods, and social environments in which there existed sub-populations that formed the avant-garde of the demographic transition. Livi-Bacci (1986) studied the early forerunners in the fertility decline across Europe. He drew on various demographic and historiographical studies and partial reconstructions of populations from as far back as the seventeenth century. He identified aristocracies (including the urban bourgeoisie), Jews in northern Italy, and urban populations (before the onset of mass urbanization) as forerunners in the fertility decline in their respective contexts. These populations had in common the characteristics of a moderate mortality rate, urban residence, and a specific socio-economic position in the society of the given time and place.¹ Another study, by sociologists Goldscheider and Uhlenberg (1969), focused on the

¹ The latter characteristic may be somewhat distorted by the fact that further back in the past only groups with some special characteristics were documented separately. As a result, the characteristic of specific socio-economic position may just be a tautology.

fertility differentials of diverse social groups in the 1960s in the United States. They discovered that some social groups had lower fertility even after controlling for well-known predictors of differentiation such as age, level of education, urban/rural residence, or state of residence. The groups they identified included Blacks with at least secondary education, Japanese Americans, and Jews. Goldscheider and Uhlenberg interpreted this finding as a reaction to the efforts that these social groups have to make to achieve upward social mobility and as a consequence of a perceived insecurity of status. They concluded that all three groups have in common “achievement values,” where upward social mobility is a “goal” and family size limitation is an adopted “means.” All of them also have a lukewarm relationship to religious orthodoxy. Another research study on the early fertility decline in Austria-Hungary by Paul Demeny (1968) shows that there were at least two distinct groups of fertility decline forerunners in the multinational Habsburg Monarchy. As to be expected, the first were the populations in the capital, Vienna, and in the most industrialized part of the Monarchy, Bohemia. The second was rural Transdanubia (at the time southern Hungary), where the population was primarily agrarian and there was little industrialization. In this case the factors regularly invoked as most important for explaining the demographic transition (such as urbanization and industrialization) do not apply. Demeny’s answer as to why it was that the Transdanubians had lower fertility than the populations of Vienna or Budapest in the last third of the nineteenth century points out that explanatory factors are rather elusive and hard to isolate statistically. However, he cites as one of the most important factors the “paramount importance of the economic aspirations of the population” eager to maintain or broaden their agricultural holding which is of limited size and the only source of income in the region. He goes on to mention that Transdanubia was a resettled border region co-inhabited by multiple nationalities (Serbs, Hungarians, Germans, Romanians) and religions (Calvinist, Catholic, and Orthodox), and that there were lower infant mortality and higher literacy among those who initiated the demographic changes.

What do these examples about the preconditions for becoming the “demographic avant-garde” tell us? First, no direct causal relations can be observed, but there are certain circumstances that are present when demographic changes occur. In all the studies mentioned above the authors highlight several factors that all of the demographic transition forerunners share. Populations that are demographically avant-garde:

- have a distinct social, national, ethnic or economic status within their society;
- are striving for higher social status;
- have an inherent need to accumulate, preserve, reproduce, or expand their assets;
- have an above-average literacy rate;
- live in a socially/religiously/nationally/linguistically mixed environment;
- and, in particular, live in an environment that makes upward mobility possible.

Jews are mentioned in many studies as forerunners of demographic behavior changes in various contexts (Derosas 2003, Livi-Bacci 1986, Schmelz 1971, Della Pergola 1989), and often only incomplete explanations are given as to why this is the case. This book gives a more complete answer as to how a population becomes a demographic forerunner and shows in the case of the Jews in Bohemia how the process of the demographic transition is inherent to the social and economic modernization. Unlike studying the general population's demographic transition, the effect of imitation and diffusion is virtually absent among the forerunners. That makes it possible to see more clearly the triggers for the onset of the demographic transition and helps us to better understand it.

CHAPTER 2

Historical Context: The Case of Jews in Bohemia

This chapter offers an outline of the key historical facts of the existence of the Jewish community in Bohemia from its earliest history to the present day. Although a historical account of Jews in Bohemia is not the main aim of this book, it plays an important role in it. Knowledge of the historical, legal, and social context of any population, and the Jewish one in particular, is key to understanding the timing and progression of its changes. Moreover, without historical knowledge we could hardly search for causes of population changes, nor would we be able to discuss what made the Jewish population special and avant-garde. Jews were a self-reproducing community but not a self-sufficient one. Actually, as we will see, their existence was extremely dependent on the political, religious, and economic situation within the host gentile society and the relationship that that society wanted to maintain with the Jews. Inevitably this chapter passes too quickly over some periods and some topics and neglects some aspects of Jewish history in Bohemia. Those readers with further interest in particular aspects of the history of Jews in Bohemia should refer to the works of historians; here I mention just a sample of them: Franková (2006), Putík (2002), and Iggers (1992) for an overview of the history of Jews in Bohemia; McCagg (1992) for the history of Habsburg Jews; Miller (2011) for the history of Jews in Moravia; Kestenberg-Gladstein (1969b) for the period of the Enlightenment; Kieval (2000, 1990, 1988) and Kestenberg-Gladstein (1968) for the nineteenth century; Mendelsohn (1987), McCagg (1990), and Čapková (2012) for the period between the two world wars; and Rothkirchen (2005) for the Shoah. Many relevant articles can be also found in the journal *Judaica Bohemiae*. Unfortunately, there is no comprehensive history of the Jews in Bohemia published in English that covers all the historical periods. However, there is such a

book in Czech (Pěkný 1993 and 2001, second edition) and it served as the main source of the contents of this chapter.

A Brief History of Jewish Settlement in Bohemia to 1867

A written source documents the presence of Jewish merchants in Prague from as early as the tenth century, and to this same century historians date the start of Jewish settlement in the Bohemian lands (Kieval 2000). Most Jewish merchants took up residence in major settlements along long-distance trade routes in the area. In the Middle Ages, these included places like Olomouc (Olmütz), Brno (Brünn), Znojmo (Znaim), the Central Elbe region, and Prague. Over time Jews began to work largely in domestic trade, money lending, and as peddlers of artisanal goods. Until the early thirteenth century they were looked upon as foreigners or guests in the land (as were German settlers after the eleventh century), and this allowed them to travel and trade freely and to choose where they wished to live. Until the end of the eleventh century there were almost no legal strictures on Jews. It was only with the start of the Crusades that their position in Europe, including Bohemia, began to deteriorate leading to the widespread slaughter of Jews across Europe in what were the biggest anti-Semitic attacks on Jewry to that date in Christian history. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries Christian culture was strongly influenced by anti-Semitic ideas and these survived into the twentieth century or even to the twenty-first century. Jews were collectively blamed for the death of Jesus and were repeatedly accused of defiling Christian symbols, molesting Christian girls, and attacking children. The situation worsened significantly after the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, which ordered strict segregation of Jews from the rest of the population. Interaction between Christians and Jews was henceforward strictly limited and carnal relations between members of the two faiths were an offence deemed punishable by death. Jews could only live in enclosed Jewish streets or quarters and there were strict restrictions determining where they could go outside these ghettos. Since Jews were the “slaves and prisoners of the Roman Empire,” they were not allowed to employ Christians, own land, or work in agriculture. Given that until the end of the fifteenth century Christians were forbidden to lend money at interest, one service that Jews were allowed to provide to Christians. Jews were not allowed to sell goods or practice a trade, and when they were it was permitted only within the confines of the ghetto for their own needs or in sectors that did not directly

compete with Christian merchants (e.g., junk traders or door-to-door peddlers). Jews became the vassals and servants of the kings across Europe, subject to their will and under their protection, and they were not allowed to be armed. The kings usually treated the Jews like they did other “property” that put money in their coffers, and it soon proved necessary to provide this source of income with at least some form of legal protection. In the Bohemian lands, this was the *Statuta Judaeorum* of Ottokar II of Bohemia from 1262, in which the king defined the legal status of Jews residing in the land and made punishable with a fine any attacks on Jewish inhabitants or their property, understood therein to be the property of the crown. However, the act also guaranteed the Jews religious freedom and administrative autonomy within their community. This provision formed the basis of the legal status of Jews in the Bohemian lands up to the end of the eighteenth century.¹

The tolerance the Jews were granted in Bohemia was not, however, automatically upheld. Upon assuming the throne, each new king would reaffirm it, but in return demanded payment from the Jews for doing so. Jews and Jewish property were a source of income that appealed not just to the king but also to townsmen, the nobility, and the church, and all three made claims to Jewish property and taxes, especially in times when the power of the sovereign was weak. One of these moments was in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in Bohemia and Moravia. At that time weak rulers were forced to expel Jews from some royal towns “for all eternity” and this had a lasting impact on where Jews settled thereafter. In 1454 Bohemian King Ladislav Pohrobek expelled the Jews from the royal towns of Brno, Olomouc, Znojmo, Uničov (Mährisch-Neustadt), and Jihlava (Iglau) in Moravia, and Jews did not resettle in these towns in large numbers until the second half of the nineteenth century. Most then moved to and settled in smaller feudal towns or to the rural estates of the nobility, where they practiced a trade or peddled goods. As a result, in the fifteenth century many Jews in Moravia lived directly under the protection of local nobles scattered across numerous small estate towns, especially in southern Moravia. In these communities they formed a substantial share of the local population (as much as 50%), residing in separate enclaves, ghettos, or urban neighborhoods that in many cases survived into the

¹ In the thirteenth century similar legal measures were adopted by other European sovereigns. The Polish King Boleslaw the Chaste issued a Charter in 1264 that allowed many Jews persecuted in Western Europe to find refuge in Poland (thus beginning the long tradition of a large Jewish community in Poland).

twentieth century. Over time a strong economic relationship developed between the noble lords and the Jewish serfs on their estates, and as a result it became in the interest of the nobility in Moravia to protect the Jews from the will of the king. Although common in Moravia, this community type was not present at all in Bohemia. How Jewish communities developed in Moravia and Bohemia differed somewhat as a result of this situation.²

Around the turn of the sixteenth century the authority of the king was weakened once again in Bohemia and towns and the nobility flexed their political muscle to prevent the king from fully asserting his interests, including the protection of the Jews. Many towns began calling for the Jews to be driven out and they were indeed expelled from most royal towns in Bohemia: Plzeň (Pilsen, 1504), which to that time had had the second largest Jewish community in Bohemia, České Budějovice (Budweis, 1505), Cheb (Eger, 1502), Karlovy Vary (Karlsbad, 1499), Louny (Laun, 1508), and all mining towns—such as Kutná Hora (Kuttenberg), an important silver mining town. They did not return to these towns in large numbers until the second half of the nineteenth century. These measures did not affect Prague Jews and their community strengthened its position as the largest and wealthiest Jewish community in Bohemia (and the Bohemian lands). Other important centers of Jewish settlement outside Prague were smaller towns such as Kolín (Kolin), Golčův Jeníkov (Goltsch-Jenikau), Pardubice (Pardubitz), Litoměřice (Leitmeritz), Náchod (Nachod), and Rychnov nad Kněžnou (Reichenau an der Knieschna). Even earlier, after the Hussite wars at the beginning of the fifteenth century, Jewish settlement shifted away from large towns to small estate towns and the countryside. There, Jews formed small communities that made up just a tiny percentage of the total number of inhabitants in the given location. That was quite different from the Jewish settlement pattern that developed in Moravia a few decades earlier.

By the inauguration of Ferdinand I as the King of Bohemia and Margrave of Moravia in 1526 a period of the Habsburg dynasty reigning over the Bohemian lands started. It continued uninterrupted until 1918. In the late sixteenth century not just settlement patterns but also the conditions of Jewish business activities began to change. In the 1590s, the Bohemian

² Jews who had settled in Silesia (evidence of Jewish settlement there dates as far back as the twelfth century) were expelled in the fifteenth century. The only community in that region in which a Jewish settlement survived until the eighteenth century was Těšín (Teschen).

Diet made it permissible for gentiles to grant loans at interest and this put an end to the Jewish monopoly on moneylending. Interest rates could no longer be set as high, so interest could thereafter be a lucrative form of income only for the wealthiest members of the Jewish community. Jews were still banned from practicing a trade or doing business with Christians and they were not allowed to join the guilds, so it was not unusual for Jews to resort to very risky or even illegal forms of business. Guilds and townsmen used the threat of competition from Jews and their allegedly opaque business practices as a pretext to pressure the sovereign to expel them from the country. Fearful of losing a good source of income, the successive kings tried to defer making a decision. Pressure mounted under Ferdinand I, and in 1540 he expelled the Jews from Bohemia. Stripped of all their property, most of them did indeed leave. Some Jews left the royal towns but sought protection from members of the nobility in Bohemia. Others found a new home in Moravia, where the nobility refused to accept the king's decision. But most Bohemian Jews left for Poland. Attempts to return were thwarted until 1545, when the Schmalkadic War erupted and there was a surge in demand for Jewish money and war supplies. Thus in 1545 Jews who were in the country were allowed to settle, while those who decided to return from exile could obtain a special guarantee of safe conduct (*Geleitbrief*). The Schmalkadic War resulted in the defeat of the Protestant nobles and the royal towns in rebellion, who then lost much of their political influence. This allowed the king to strengthen his position in Bohemia, and Jews in royal towns and towns on the estates of the nobility came directly under his protection. However, this did not entirely eliminate the existential insecurity of Bohemian Jews during this period.

The years under Maximilian II (1564–1576) and Rudolf II (1576–1611) were a time when Jewish communities in Bohemia and Moravia were able to enjoy stability and to flourish. There were utilitarian roots to the tolerance these two rulers (and later Ferdinand II) adopted towards the Jews: the Renaissance rulers needed the goods and money of Jewish merchants and bankers to maintain their luxurious courts and to fund wars with the Turks and eventually the financially draining conflicts with the Czech estates and their allies (Pěkný 1993, 66). The Habsburg rulers cultivated special relationships with some of the wealthiest members of the Jewish communities, who granted the rulers loans while simultaneously lobbying them to increase the tolerance and the rights of Jews in the land. This “era of the court Jews” lasted approximately until the 1730s. In 1567, Maximilian II issued a charter confirming the old privileges granted to Jews who had settled in Prague and across the kingdom, extending to

them the promise that they would not be expelled from the country and relaxing some of the restrictions on their commercial activities. From the late sixteenth century onwards the townsmen's calls for the expulsion of the Jews were no longer being heard. Rudolf II expanded the rights of Jews even further (among other things, making it legal for Jews to trade in goods). The Jews thus had on their side the court and some of the nobility, united by commercial interests. From this time onwards the number of Jewish inhabitants in the Bohemian lands began to grow. The Prague ghetto in particular experienced unprecedented cultural, religious, and economic development. While in 1562 an estimated one thousand Jews lived in Prague (those with safe conduct), around 1600 there were an estimated ten to fifteen thousand (Brosche 1983). If this figure is accurate, Jews would have accounted for approximately one-quarter of the entire population of Prague and the Jewish community would have been the largest in Europe at that time. Also, at that time Prague's Jewish ghetto was one of the main centers of the Ashkenazi diaspora and home to many important Jewish theologians and financiers.

The outbreak of the Thirty Years War led to a deterioration of the conditions of Jews in Bohemia. The disruption of trade and the deprivations caused by the war put a halt to development in Jewish and Christian communities within the kingdom. The Jews logically remained loyal to the Habsburgs in order to protect and preserve the rights they had attained. As Pěkný (1993, 66) explains: "The ideological conflicts that shook Christian Europe meant nothing to the Jews. If the Reformation initially won some favour because of its anticlericalism and its interest in the Old Testament, most of the favour was quickly lost. The anti-Semitic hatred that can be found, for example, in the later writings of the Reformation's greatest authority, Martin Luther, who was disappointed that the Jews were unwilling to convert, differed very little from the hatred shown by the Catholics." Jews made substantial loans and financial gifts that enabled them to secure the protection of Ferdinand II for the duration of the Thirty Years War, but they fell heavily into debt as a result. According to some sources, the loss of life in the Jewish community during the war was slightly higher than in the Christian population (Spiegel 1927). After the war the Jewish ghettos quickly filled up again, but it was immigration from surrounding countries, not natural increase, that added to their numbers. In the first wave, Jews came from Poland, Lithuania, and Belarus, where they were being slaughtered by the Cossacks. These pogroms were a debilitating blow to Jewish culture in Poland from which it never recovered, and in a wider context the Cossack massacres triggered a change in

the direction of Jewish migration, which since then, up to the present day, has flowed from east to west. The next wave of emigrants arrived in the Bohemian lands after 1669, when Leopold I drove the Jews out of Vienna.³ This brought important Viennese Jewish scholars, merchants, and craftsmen to Bohemia and especially southern Moravia, and significantly contributed to the economic development of this region.

Once the difficult times of the Thirty Years War had passed, consequently, the number of Jews in the Bohemian lands again began to grow, and so did the calls for their expulsion or at least for restrictions to be placed on their numbers. This time, unlike on previous such occasions, the Habsburg rulers heeded the demands of Christian merchants to limit the size of the Jewish population and thereby also the presence of Jewish competition in commerce and trades in an era that came to be known as the period of “official anti-Semitism.” The state authorities were driven by the conviction that the Jews were responsible for the stagnation of Christian business after the war and were depriving Christians of work. In other words, once the Jews had fulfilled their function of helping to sustain the wartime economy it was time for them to leave. For the sovereign, however, the financial gifts and taxes that Jews paid into the royal budget represented an important and compelling counter-argument and made it difficult to accede to the demands of the public. This is the main reason why the Jews were not simply expelled from Bohemia. So, despite all the administrative obstructions, natural disasters, pogroms, plundering, and epidemics, the number of Jews in Bohemia between 1650 and 1750 did not decrease and even rose slightly (Kuděla 1989). In 1714, on orders from Vienna, the *Comissio in rebus Judeorum* or “Jewish Commission” was established as the governing body in the Bohemian kingdom that would thereafter be responsible for matters pertaining to the presence of Jews in Bohemia. Its task was to come up with some method to reduce the number of Jews in Bohemia and to restrict their economic activity. Their plans, however, never got heard in Vienna, and after 1719 their role was to inspect Jewish taxes and businesses, issue marriage permits, and survey the number of Jews in the land. The Jewish Commission existed *de facto* until 1783 when its duties were taken over by the Czech Gubernium. The agenda of the Jewish Commission and the documents that survived are a crucial source for understanding the position of Jews in Bohemia in the

³ In 1670 all the Jews were expelled from Vienna, interrupting the history of continuous Jewish settlement there until the middle of the nineteenth century; in 1857 there were still just 2,617 Jews living in Vienna.

eighteenth century. In this context, the most valuable sources for demographic study are the Jewish population censuses organized by the Jewish Commission—separately for Prague and for rural Jews—throughout the eighteenth century (more on this in Chapter 3).

Life in the ghettos, like in all the Jewish settlements, was significantly affected in 1726 by the Imperial Relocation Rescript issued by Charles VI, wherein Jews were ordered to move to and live on separate streets and in separate neighborhoods located far from any Catholic churches, cemeteries, or area used for religious processions. The Rescript applied to an estimated 30,000 Jews who were living in 168 towns and 672 villages across Bohemia, and another 20,000 Jews in Moravia (Fiedler 1992). On the basis of this order from Charles VI the Jews came to be thoroughly segregated from the majority population. In many places entire ghettos had to be relocated; in others, where Jewish settlement was not confined to one location, new ghettos emerged. Government orders issued in 1726 and 1727 prohibited rural Jews from moving to Prague (Pěkný 1993). The number of Jews living in Bohemia and Moravia was regulated and capped by the “*numerus clausus*,” which set a maximum quota of 8,541 Jewish families allowed to live in Bohemia and 5,106 in Moravia. The aim of these measures was to return the size and distribution of the Jewish population to the situation that had existed prior to the Thirty Years War in 1618. It was meant to achieve a definitive compromise between concerns about the growing size and economic competition of the Jewish population and the Monarchy’s fears of losing an important source of income in the form of Jewish taxes. To ensure adherence to the *numerus clausus*, an increase in the Jewish population was regulated by the Familiant Law (*Familiantengesetz*), which dictated that, as of September 1726, Jews who were married or widowed and had children were regarded as “*patres familias*,” and they alone had the right to remain living in the land and obtain the status of “*Familiants*” (legal citizens of Bohemia) and enjoy the protection of the sovereign. When the father of the family died, his Familiant status passed to his eldest son and he alone among the sons was allowed to marry. Other male offspring who wished to marry had to leave the country. Families that had only daughters were deemed to be extinct family lines and the daughters had to marry abroad. Failure to comply with the Familiant Law was punishable by flogging and expulsion from the country (Pěkný 1993, 77).

The Familiant Law met strong opposition from the Bohemian and Moravian nobility that employed Jews as middlemen and merchants. For them, the services of Jews were a good source of income. The assertion of the Familiant Law in essence became a tool through which the Habsburgs

exerted their centralist authority over Jews in the Bohemian lands. But the law was circumvented to varying degrees through secret weddings, by bribing nobles and state officials, and by forming small communities scattered across the countryside. But many resolved the situation by moving to Poland or Hungary (the Lands of the Crown of Saint Stephen). The Familiant Law remained in force until 1849 and it was a harsh blow to traditional Jewish family life. Nevertheless, this law also had the effect of protecting Jews in Bohemia and Moravia from expulsion by granting them Familiant status, but even this did not last long.

In 1744 and 1745 Maria Theresa issued an edict ordering all Jews to be expelled forever from the Czech kingdom. The justification given for this expulsion was that the Jews had allegedly been collaborating with the Prussians, with whom the Empress was then at war (Iggers 1992, 31–8). Historians have speculated, however, about other possible motives. Some argue that the order to expel the Jews would have been handed down sooner or later regardless, as the general opinion at the time was that the economy was doing well enough to get by without the Jews (especially considering the effects their absence would have on tax revenue).⁴ But ultimately, the expulsion of the Jews did have a very negative impact on the economy and proved to be impractical. Maria Theresa was forced to retract her order and to tolerate the presence of Jews in Bohemia. Jews in Prague were the ones whose lives were affected most by the Empress's decision. They actually had to leave Prague for three and a half years from 1745 to 1748. It was the only expulsion of Jews from Prague ever executed. After the expulsion, however, some of the Jews did not return to Prague, settling instead in the villages around Prague and in central Bohemia, places where they had sought refuge. Some Prague Jews left the country definitively. Those who did return came back to a devastated ghetto with severed business ties, and they were hit with a new financial levy, the Tolerance Tax. The decline of the ghetto was irreversible, and after the great fire in 1754 it never regained the kind of economic significance it had had during the previous century and a half. Before the expulsion in the mid-eighteenth century there were around 16,000 people living in the ghetto, the largest number of inhabitants until then. After the Jews were allowed to return, there were around 1,400 Familiants in Prague, or approximately 7,000 people (Kuděla 1989).

In the 1780s Joseph II introduced a series of reforms that significantly influenced the community life of Jews in the Bohemian lands. In 1781 a

⁴ Polák, *Nárys dějin českých Židů* [Description of the Jewish history in Bohemian lands], manuscript, archive of the Jewish Museum in Prague. Cited from Pěkný (1993).

new law was introduced stipulating that Jews were no longer required to wear the special Jewish badge that they had hitherto been required to wear. Permission was given to Bohemian and Moravian Jews to study at any of the domestic institutions of higher education, including the universities (but not the theology faculty), and there they could earn academic titles. They were allowed to practice any trade or craft, qualify as masters, and establish guilds. They could hire gentile labor and for the first time in many centuries they could work the land. They could become money-changers, wholesalers, or run stores with drapery, mercantile, and miscellaneous goods. Jews were allowed to eat in taverns and live under the same roof as Christians. For the first time they were required to perform compulsory military service. Legal reform in 1784 made Bohemian Jews subject to the same legal authority as Christians, and this seriously impinged on the traditional administrative autonomy that Jewish communities had enjoyed in the past. From then until 1848, Jewish administrative communities were regarded more as religious-administrative corporations. In the late 1780s there were fifty-two of them in Moravia, but in Bohemia only one, in Prague, a reflection of the different settlement structures of Jews in Bohemia and Moravia. It was not the objective of the above-mentioned reforms to establish equality for Jews, but to integrate them into the reformed and centralized Monarchy in a way that would most usefully serve the state. Not surprisingly, the Jews still had to pay the high Tolerance Tax and the Familiant Law remained in effect. The number of Jews allowed to settle was only slightly increased in 1797 by 59 to reach 8,600 in Bohemia and by just under 300 in Moravia to reach 5,400. Exceptional permission to marry could be granted to a Jew who was not an eldest son but who pledged lifetime military service, practiced a trade, or farmed the land. It is obvious how dramatic these reforms were; therefore, it is not surprising that it was difficult to sustain them after the death of Joseph II. Most of the reforms concerning the involvement of Jews in the economy did not really come into effect due to the strong resistance from Christian merchants, manufacturers, and their guilds.

The new laws introduced by Joseph II that had the biggest impact were those introducing compulsory secular schooling for Jews in the Monarchy and compulsory knowledge of German. Starting in 1787, Jews were required to use German first and family names; from 1788 entries in the birth register referring to Jews had to be written in German, rabbis had to have a German education, spouses had to demonstrate a knowledge of German, and so on. The law on compulsory Jewish secular schooling was decreed in 1781 as part of an amendment to the decree on general com-

pulsory schooling in the Monarchy from 1774. Jews were supposed to establish secular Jewish Normalschulen where pupils would be taught secular subjects including German, from state approved teachers (Hecht 2010). The first Normalschule for boys opened in Prague in 1782 (the school for girls opened in 1784), and others followed. This new school system was generally accepted by Jewish religious elites in Bohemia as long as the religious schooling was kept under their responsibility. Thus, Normalschulen did not replace the traditional religious schools (heders and yeshivas), but existed in parallel. The introduction of German Jewish schools in Bohemia (and Moravia) accelerated the pace of Jewish modernization and openness to the gentile community (for more on the education system and its impact see Chapter 11). Although successful in Bohemia and Moravia, this school reform did not meet with as much support in the other parts of the Monarchy such as Hungary, Galicia, and Bukowina. There the Normalschulen did not survive the turn of the nineteenth century, when many of them were converted into religious schools.

The introduction of Normalschulen in Bohemia (and Moravia) occurred at the same time as the ideology of the Jewish religious enlightenment or Haskalah emerged. Its ideas came to Bohemia from Berlin, and after an initial rejection by Jewish religious authorities in the 1780s it gradually came to be accepted by the next generation of Prague Jewish intellectuals. Haskalah and its proponents, the “maskilim,” advocated a more rational conception of Jewish beliefs in the spirit of the Enlightenment and the philosophy of that era (Etkes 2010). They were interested in and inspired by science and secular studies and the inventions of gentiles. They supported greater Jewish openness to the gentile world and languages, and they believed in a “common humanity of Jews and others and saw European culture as a common possession, and participation in that culture as vital for Jews” (ibid.). The simultaneous occurrence of the secular school reform of Joseph II and the Haskalah accelerated the Germanization and cultural modernization of Bohemian Jews and their openness to gentile society (for more details see the Chapter 11, Conclusion, and Čapková 2012).

The new laws issued by Joseph II pertaining to the Jewish population were summed up in the Systemalpatent of 1797. It was supposed to break up the corporate identity of the Jews, but formal and informal obstacles impeded Jewish integration into civil society. Jews, whose economic status and education levels were rising faster than their social prestige and civic equality, optimistically welcomed the revolutionary events of 1848. They participated in the political developments as citizens, politicians, and

journalists. Emancipated Jews saw civil rights and Parliamentarism as the guarantee of freedom and equality for all minorities. This view was shared by students and some members of the intelligentsia in the general population, but less so by other members of the public, especially merchants, small business owners, and farmers. The storm of outrage against giving Jews equal rights in some towns even led to pogroms. As the number of anti-Semitic attacks multiplied and the power of the Monarchy's authority grew weaker, some Jews chose to emigrate, thus initiating the modern history of Jewish emigration from Bohemia.

Despite that, the revolution of 1848 fundamentally transformed the legal status of Jews in Bohemia and Moravia. They were newly allowed to work in public administration and in schools (under the Josephine reforms this was only permitted for converts). The Familiant Law was abolished on 4 March 1849, as were the *numerus clausus*, Familiant status, ghettos, and the Tolerance Tax. Jews became free to move and live where they wished (4 April 1849) and could marry freely (4 May 1849). The restoration of absolutism in the 1850s did not undo the substance of Jews' newly obtained rights. The Jews obtained full legal equality in 1867 with the adoption of the December Constitution, which granted them state citizenship, political and civic equality before the law, and the freedom to move, buy real estate, carry business and trade, vote and run for office. For the very first time in modern history, no legal difference existed between the rights of Jews and the rights of other inhabitants in the land.

The Jewish Population in Bohemia, 1867–1939

When the gates of the crowded ghettos opened in 1848, large numbers of Jews streamed out beyond their walls not only into urban, rapidly growing industrial areas but also overseas (see Chapters 4 and 9). Changes in settlement patterns were connected with the great expansion of industry in the Monarchy in the 1860s and 1870s, which also opened up opportunities for the professional and social ascent of Jews. Generally, thousands of people left agriculture and moved to towns, where they found work as laborers in the newly established industrial plants or in the mines. The most dynamic development occurred in northern Bohemia (textile and glass industries in Liberec [Reichenberg] and Jablonec nad Nisou [Gablonz an der Neiße]; chemical and ceramics industries in Ústí nad Labem [Aussig] and Děčín [Tetschen]), in northwest Bohemia (coal mining in Teplice [Teplitz], Most [Brüx], and Chomutov [Komotau]), and the

region around Karlovy Vary. Prague and Plzeň were both also important centers of industry. In the language-divided Bohemia, German-speaking regions were the dominant industrial areas. Most owners of large industrial enterprises in the aforementioned sectors were also German. Czechs who migrated to these industrialized regions represented an important human resource mainly as manual laborers. Jews migrating to these areas retained their religious identity, and they basically identified with the German environment. German culture and the German education system were unifying elements across the Central European region and had the effect of opening up more opportunities for Jews than those they would have had by aligning themselves with the Czech culture and language. Because of the Jewish alignment with German culture many of their successes in the field of industry and commerce during this period were interpreted as German achievements. However, Jews in Bohemia were also able to establish themselves in emerging Czech industries in the Czech-language territories. The business they were involved in largely revolved around food production and agriculture (sugar refining, brewing, flour production). Usually Jews played an indispensable role in white-collar occupations such as office management and sales positions. In Czech-language towns they also frequently held jobs as clerks and professions such as doctors and lawyers. The result was the relatively successful and rapid integration of local Jews into Czech-language society. This also laid the foundation for the development of the Czech-Jewish movement in 1876, which worked towards Czech-Jewish assimilation.

The language affiliation problem was a specific issue in Bohemia (as compared to Germany, Austria, or Hungary) and complicated the integration process of Jews into the gentile society in the second half of the nineteenth century. For the entire period after the defeat of the Bohemian and Moravian Protestant estates in 1620, the Bohemian lands were subject to intense Germanization by the ruling Habsburgs and the local nobility. German was the official language, and the language of education and of the upper social classes. Jews were Germanized through the laws imposed by Joseph II and through the *Normalschulen* in particular. By the mid-nineteenth century, however, the Czech national revival and Czech nationalism were getting stronger and the confident Czech bourgeoisie was growing in number and power. This polarized the Czech- and German-speaking inhabitants of Bohemia and presented Jews with the difficult choice of linguistic affiliation. The prevailing Jewish affiliation with German culture and language was a factor that exacerbated the already difficult process of Jewish integration into Czech society. At the turn of

the twentieth century Jewish attitudes about ethnic identity began to change and Jews began gravitating more towards Czech culture and ethnicity (see Chapter 10).

In other aspects, too, Bohemian Jewry had been in a somewhat divided position in the decades leading up to World War I. This was due to disparate preferences inside the Jewish religious communities and weakening traditions. Emigration left many rural communities with too few members and financial resources to maintain themselves. Jews in urban centers in Bohemia mostly had a more reserved relationship to faith and the authority of the rabbi. They tried to blend in with the social environment they lived in, which altered the way they related to their own background and religious affiliation. Some Jews left the Jewish community or converted to another religion; others rejected religious orthodoxy in an effort to integrate into Czech society, which they viewed as the cultural and historical space to which they belonged (the Czech-Jewish movement); others pursued the idea of self-determination for the Jewish nation and the demand for a Jewish homeland (Zionism); still others identified with the environment of the German upper class and had no real interest in Czech-speaking society. This range of outlooks gave rise to various associations and organizations that had different objectives and in some cases sharply opposed each other (the Czech-Jewish movement against Zionism), and it led to a fragmented and weaker Jewish community life in Bohemia.

The economic situation of Jews developed very fast in the second half of the nineteenth century. Around 1850 the majority of Jews were still poor inhabitants of rural and urban ghettos, but by the end of the century a large number of Jews in Bohemia were well-situated members of the middle class, whose children had access to higher education. Through what resources were Jews able to achieve such prosperity? While around 1850 many rural Jews still made a living peddling items door to door, by the 1880s and 1890s the next generations were mostly small tradesmen and craftsmen with their own shops. Later, by the turn of the twentieth century, they were squeezed out by co-operative societies and various other Czech commercial ventures. Persistent anti-Semitism also complicated the situation of Jews in rural areas. Such obstacles only further encouraged Jews to move to towns. Although from the late eighteenth century onwards Jews had to some degree begun to enter the fields of industry (in particular textile), commerce, and banking (Prague, Prostějov [Proßnitz], Teplice), Jewish businesses only really began to flourish in the last three decades of the nineteenth century. Jews made progress in every sector of industry, com-

merce, and banking, and they contributed to the development of these sectors until 1938 (see Chapter 12 and Pěkný 1993, 228).

In 1918 the Czechoslovak Republic arose from the disintegrated Habsburg Monarchy. It united three lands that were historically never part of the same state entity: the Bohemian lands, Slovakia, and Ruthenia.⁵ All three parts contained a considerable number of Jews with very different cultural backgrounds and religious traditions and in different stages of modernization. In 1921 there were approximately 375,000 people in Czechoslovakia who were of the Jewish faith.⁶ All Czechoslovak Jews were able to declare Jewish ethnicity in the population censuses. The fragmentation and sometimes even animosity among different ideological streams within the Jewish community continued between the wars. The Czech-Jewish movement and the Zionists had a supporter of their efforts in the person of the first Czechoslovak President, Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk, who adopted a progressive political line of tolerance and support towards the Jews. In 1929 two members of the Jewish Party were elected to the National Assembly. Jews enjoyed equal rights and relative stability in the democratic Czechoslovak Republic until 1938. It was quite a unique environment in Central Europe between the world wars and in the 1930s in particular, as all the neighboring countries were headed by autocratic regimes with more or less strong anti-Semitic standpoints (Germany by Nazis, Austria by Austrofascists, Poland by Pilsudski's autocracy, Hungary by the autocratic Horthy regime, and Romania by nationalist and fascist-like governments).

Nazi Germany exerted growing pressure on the Central European region, and under international pressure and the signing of the Munich Agreement on 29 September 1938, Czechoslovakia was forced to surrender and to give up a considerable part of its territory (the so-called Sudetenland) to Nazi Germany. Bohemia lost more than one-third of its territory and inhabitants; the pre-Munich government resigned and the Second Republic was established. A new government was appointed that had no choice but to collaborate with Nazi Germany. Czech citizens, including Jews, had to leave the occupied Sudetenland. According to unofficial fig-

⁵ Ruthenia had been part of Hungary from the eleventh century; in 1919 it was incorporated with nominal autonomy into Czechoslovakia. In 1944 the Soviet Army occupied Ruthenia, and in 1946, annexed it to the Ukrainian SSR. Today it is part of western Ukraine.

⁶ According to the census of 1921 there were approximately 125,000 denominational Jews living in the Czech lands, 140,000 in Slovakia, and 110,000 in Carpathian Ruthenia.

ures there were approximately 17,000 Jews among the masses who fled the Sudetenland and headed to other parts of Czechoslovakia. In the Second Czechoslovak Republic Jews were banned from joining professional organizations and began to be excluded from public life. Rudolf Beran's government set about preparing its own "solution to the Jewish question," but was interrupted when the rest of the Bohemian lands were occupied on 15 March 1939 by Nazi forces and the Nuremburg racial laws came into effect across the territory of the newly-established Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia (the remaining territory of the Bohemian lands after German annexation of the Sudetenland). Under pressure from Hitler, Slovakia declared itself an independent Slovak State on 14 March 1939 and became an Axis client state of Nazi Germany. There, Jews suffered under Nazi-inspired anti-Semitic laws issued by the Slovak Assembly.

The Nazi threat to and occupation of the Bohemian lands led to a surge in Jewish emigration, which began to be apparent in the autumn of 1938. Initially the Nazis supported the emigration, as long as Jews left all their property and capital in Nazi hands. However, because of the lengthy stonewalling in processing applications and the unwillingness of some states to take in refugees, fewer people managed to escape than should have been possible. By the end of 1941, when the Nazis halted emigration, the Jewish Religious Community (JRC) estimated that 26,111 Jews had emigrated (Kárný 1991). Besides official emigration hundreds of people saved themselves by emigrating illegally or by hiding, but there is no way of knowing this number. During the war, Jews in Bohemia were identified as such according to the Nuremburg Laws. These laws identified as a Jew anyone descending from at least three Jewish grandparents, or fewer than three if the person was a member of Jewish Religious Community, married to a Jew, or the child of a Jew, whether born inside or outside marriage, whose date of birth was after 15 September 1935 (the date of the ban on mixed marriages in Germany). If a person did not fulfill these conditions but had two or one Jewish grandparents, then he or she was considered to be a *Mischling* of the first degree or the second degree. If they were not listed as members of the JRC, the Jews themselves had to register with the JRC.⁷ Jews who were married to a non-Jewish partner had a better chance to survive the war than those Jews who had a Jewish partner or were divorced or single. This fact was of course unknown to the

⁷ From 1935 in Germany, German citizenship was recognized only among people who were ethnic Germans or members of a racially related group. Jews, of course, were not, so they were stripped of all civic and political rights.

public at a time when the anti-Jewish repressions were taking place. Hitler's plan was to deal with the intermarried Jews after the war, as he was afraid of public unrest if he were to forcibly split families of German and Jewish citizens in Germany. At that time there were tens of thousands of such marriages. In the Protectorate, the reality was such that most intermarried Jews were sent to the Theresienstadt ghetto at the beginning of 1945, where most of them survived until liberation by the Allies in May 1945. Their non-Jewish spouses were sent to forced labor camps at the same time and most of them also survived. It is not easy to estimate how many people were affected by the Nuremberg Laws and how many of those affected were living in the territory of the Protectorate on 15 March 1939. Sources from this period indicate that the number of people to whom these laws applied was 118,310 (*Věstník*...1947, 330). However, that number is disputed by many (Škorpil 1994). According to Kárný (1991, 1994), it is certain that the real number was higher, and he puts it at around 135,000. As of 1 October 1941 there were 88,105 Jewish inhabitants in the Protectorate. The first wave of mass deportations to concentration camps began in November 1941, and by July 1943 only a small Jewish population was still living in the Protectorate. According to Kárný (1991), more than 80,000 Bohemian and Moravian Jews died in the Holocaust, a number equal to approximately two-thirds of the pre-war size of the population.

After World War II, the experience of the Holocaust and the political developments after the 1948 communist coup in Czechoslovakia led many of the Jews who remained in Bohemia to assimilate so as to avoid drawing attention to their background. As a result, it is very difficult to determine how many Jews were living in Bohemia after 1945. Immediately after the war there were around 24,000 Jews in Bohemia and Moravia, and one-third of them were optants from Ruthenia. According to the census in 1950 there were 9,000 people of Jewish faith living in the Bohemian lands. Many Jews left the country after the communist coup in 1948 (approximately 18,000) and after 1968 (about 6,000) (Pěkný 1993, 405; these estimates are for Czechoslovakia as a whole). The communist government in Czechoslovakia was overtly anti-Semitic: Jewish property and the collections of the Jewish Museum were nationalized, the activities of the JRC were curtailed, some of the political trials and purges in the 1950s had a clear anti-Semitic subtext, and records of the secret police (StB) in the 1970s contained the names of people of Jewish background ticked off as potential agents of "pro-Zionist ideas" (Pěkný 2001, 355), to cite a few examples. After 1989 the fall of the totalitarian communist regime and the

establishment of democratic principles in society allowed Jews and Jewish institutions to make free decisions and to grow. At present there are just under three thousand Jews living in the Czech Republic who belong to one of the ten JRCs in Bohemia and Moravia.⁸ The history of the Jews in the Bohemian lands thus continues, and although today their strength cannot lie in their numbers, the historical legacy they represent continues to be intricately woven throughout Czech history, society, and culture.

⁸ In the Czech Republic today there are JRC branches in Brno, Děčín, Karlovy Vary, Liberec, Prague, Olomouc, Ostrava (Ostrau), Ústí nad Labem, Plzeň, and Teplice. The largest, with approximately 1,500 members, is in Prague.

CHAPTER 3

Data Sources: Correct Use and Interpretation

There are two types of data on population development: one that characterizes population stocks and includes population counts and structures, and another that relates to population dynamics, that is, natality, mortality, nuptiality, divorce, and migration. The first is usually obtained from population censuses; the second from vital statistics. The data sources I work with in this book are drawn mainly from censuses and vital statistics published by Austrian and Czechoslovak statistical offices. This means that I am working mainly with aggregated data on population stocks and change, and not primarily with archival materials such as population registers or original lists from population censuses.

Aggregated data have their own specific attributes that influence what kind of analysis is possible. The first specific feature is the type of population that is recorded in the data: In the case of an analysis of the Jewish population, *how “Jewish” is defined* in the statistics of a given period determines what population we can study. In the past the definition was based on a religious affiliation. This was the case in all the statistics produced in the Habsburg Monarchy and in Czechoslovakia. In vital statistics religious affiliation was derived from population registers, which in the case of Jewish demographic events were administered by the Jewish rabbinical authority. In population censuses before 1848 it is unclear how Jews were identified, but most often it was known which houses were inhabited by Jews and which districts were Jewish, and those “observations” were most likely combined with self-declarations. Starting with the population census in 1869, religious affiliation was a self-declaratory category. The censuses of 1921 and 1930 in Czechoslovakia also included the option for respondents to declare themselves to be of Jewish ethnicity. Not everyone who declared Jewish ethnicity also claimed to be members

of the Jewish faith and vice versa, so the total numbers of Jews varied depending on how they defined themselves. In this book, unless indicated otherwise, I use data on Jews defined as such on the basis of religious affiliation. This means that the analyses below reveal nothing about those Jews who did not declare themselves to be members of the Jewish faith, such as converts or atheists. The second specific feature of analyses based on aggregated data is their dependency on the *structure and detail of the tabulation* and the publication of the collected data. It is common to find with historical data that many population characteristics were collected but few of them were cross tabulated because data processing techniques were not very advanced. In case of the data I am working with, until the 1890s almost nothing was cross tabulated with religious faith in the population censuses, and only quite modest cross tabulations exist for events in vital statistics. A third and final specific feature is the *reliability of the data*. This changed over time, depending on who, how, and for what purpose the data were collected and how much care went into their preparation for publication. I will comment more on the problem of data reliability in historical population studies in this chapter and more specifically in each chapter in Parts 2 and 3. But first, let us consider the existing data on Jewish population stocks in Bohemia.

The first Jewish population counts date from the early eighteenth century. They come from a Jewish population census that was organized at the initiative of the Jewish Commission and administered by regional bodies. They date from 1723–1724 for rural areas and from 1729 for Prague. They were motivated by the efforts of Habsburg “official anti-Semitism”¹ to regulate the number of Jews in Bohemia. They can be considered a reliable data source on the number of Jews present in the country and they contain a wealth of information on the Jews: place of residence, name of the head of the family and his or her marital status, name of the spouse and children, their age and sex, other members of the family such as maids, and occupation of the household head. The original census documents have survived to the present day and are available in the Czech National Archive. They have been analyzed elsewhere by Sander (2002) and Woitschová et al. (2006), who focused on the “rural” census, and Prokeš (1932) and Kuděla (1989), who studied the Prague census. Other Jewish population censuses for rural Jews were administered in 1783, 1793, 1799, and 1811. The most detailed information can be found in the

¹ The term is used for the systemic government-organized effort to reduce the size of the Jewish population.

1793 census, which contains information on place of residence, name of the head of the family, his occupation, his wife's name, his children's names and their age and sex, the names of single Jews (and their children). The same was collected for their servants. An annotated transcription of this census was published in Ebelová (2004–2006). The data from the 1793 census have survived in full for the entire territory of Bohemia and can be considered to be reliable. Prague Jews were counted in 1792, 1794, and 1811. The censuses of 1792 and 1794 can be considered to be reliable. Annotated transcriptions of these two Prague censuses are published in Ebelová (2006). The censuses between 1783 and 1811 were administered for tax purposes by the Czech Gubernium (which assumed responsibility for Jewish affairs in Bohemia after the Jewish Commission). The 1783 and 1793 rural censuses and the 1792 and 1794 Prague censuses include not only "Familiants" (Jews who had been issued a "Familiant number" allowing them to reside in the country), but all Jews present in the country at the time of the census (i.e., even those without a Familiant number, visitors, and foreigners). The censuses from 1799 and 1811 include only information on Familiants.

Another source on Jewish population counts are general population censuses. The first one in the eighteenth century took place in 1754 and was administered by the nobility and processed by the regional authorities. The censuses between 1754 and 1769 were conducted separately for Christians and for Jews. For some of these years only a portion and sometimes none of the data on the Jews has survived to the present day. For 1754 only the figure on the total size of the Jewish population in Bohemia has survived (while for Moravia and Silesia figures on the population size by sex and age are also available). The 1762 and 1763 censuses recorded the Jewish population by age groups (but not by sex); the 1764 and 1768 censuses published data on Jewish population by age group and sex. All the annual censuses for the years 1762–1769 also contain data on their settlements and on the occupations of Jews. The data collection for all the censuses from 1754 to 1769 was done by the local nobility, so it is likely that they documented the domestic (*de iure*) population. It is possible that figures from these censuses are lower than what they should be, as manorial lords tended not to declare the full number of serfs on their land.² Despite these shortcomings these data are very useful as they capture the age structure of the Jewish population by sex, a characteristic that is not dis-

² The amount of tax that the nobility owed the Emperor was calculated according to the number of serfs living on their land.

tinguished in any subsequent censuses before 1890. Reform introduced in 1770 transferred responsibility for the census to the regional authorities and the military. Initially, between 1770 and 1779 the military authority counted the number of men in the country while women, children, and Jews were counted by civic authorities. However, it is evident from these data that the civic authorities were less than thorough in their work, as the number of women recorded in the country was much lower than men (counted by the military). It can therefore be assumed that not just the number of women was underestimated but also the number of Jews. In 1785 a revised census method was introduced. Thereafter a mixed civil and military commission revised the yearly nobility tables of the population by conducting random control counts among the population. The nobility tables were compiled yearly and updated with the balance of births and deaths registered in the newly established “population books” (which will be discussed in more details below). These revised censuses were better organized than the earlier ones, and they more accurately recorded the size of the present population, including Jews. This is how population counts, including those of the Jews, were done until 1851. From all the censuses held between 1770 and 1851, only those for the period between 1770 and 1776 contain data distinguishing the age and sex of the Jewish population. A publication called the *Tafeln zur Statistik der Österreichischen Monarchie* (hereinafter *Tafeln*) published the data from these censuses. The following *Tafeln* contain data on the number of Jews in Bohemia (and in Moravia and Silesia): 1828, 1831, 1834, 1837, 1843, 1846, and 1851. The earlier data (before 1828) were kept a state secret and were not published at the time. However, they can be accessed by a secondary source (Goehlert 1855), which also contains the Jewish population counts in the years 1785 and 1800.

The era of “modern” population censuses started in the Habsburg Monarchy in 1857. “Modern” means that unlike previous censuses, those from 1857 onwards were organized solely for the purpose of obtaining information on the size and structure of the population in the country, so the same methodology and the same care were applied to recording the size of every age group and both sexes; in each of the censuses the size of the population was recorded in the same type of form and within as short a period of time as possible. The data from these censuses can be taken to be reliable and, insofar as possible, accurate. These censuses include data on Jews, but until 1890 they lack detailed information on the structure of the Jewish population specifically. The 1857, 1869, and 1880 censuses contain information only on the total number of Jews in individual politi-

cal districts. A more modern method of data processing was introduced with the 1890 census that produced more detailed structural data. Information on the age structure of the Jewish population differentiated by sex and marital status was published for individual lands that made up the Austrian Crown. The 1900 census introduced the new category of “language of common use” in combination with religion distinguished by country, and for the first time published data on Jews by social and occupational category, but only for the Austrian Crown lands as a whole and not distinguished by country. By contrast, in this census the Jewish population was not categorized by age. The 1910 population census was the first to publish data on the social and occupational structure of the population by religion for individual lands within the Dual Monarchy.

The first census in the newly established Czechoslovak Republic was administered in 1921 and contained several different characteristics pertaining to Jews from previous censuses: it distinguished Jews not just by religion, but also by declared Jewish ethnicity, and the population size by religion was further categorized by municipality size and socio-occupational characteristics. The 1930 census also distinguished Jews by the five-year age groups, sex, and marital status. In response to the growing interest in fertility change the 1930 census also recorded detailed information on the marital fertility of women, including a cross tabulation by religious denomination. The 1930 census thus provides valuable information on the life-time fertility of married women, including professional and denominational sub-groups. Some data on the size of the Jewish population were also collected during the Nazi occupation of the Bohemian lands between 1938 and 1945. They cover the population of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, but the method used to collect them is unclear. The population censuses conducted in 1950 and then in 1991, 2001, and 2011 included information on the Jewish population, but owing to the very small number of Jews in the Bohemian lands after World War II and the communist coup of 1948, they are not suitable for quantitative demographic analysis. An overview of the available data sources on population size is presented in Appendix 1.

Data on population dynamics (nuptiality, number of births and deaths) only began to be published in 1785, when Emperor Joseph II issued a decree requiring priests and rabbis to collect data on marriages, births, and deaths. They had to be registered in three separate population books but using the same format, and had to be annually submitted as summaries to the regional authorities (for “*kraj*” or regions until 1851, and thereafter for smaller units, i.e., districts). These “population books” served as the basis

for the publication of vital statistics for each country of the Habsburg Monarchy. The tables of vital statistics were kept a state secret until the 1820s, as were the population counts. Both started to be officially published from 1828 in the *Tafeln* and contained information on vital statistics in the Jewish population from 1832 to 1859 for marriages, to 1856 for births, and to 1857 for deaths. Local priests controlled the books compiled by rabbis to verify their accuracy until 1868.

In 1863 the *Tafeln* were replaced by the *Statistical Yearbook* (*Statistisches Jahrbuch der Österreichische Monarchie*), which in turn was replaced in 1881 by *Vital Statistics* (*Österreichische Statistik, Bewegung der Bevölkerung*). Between 1858 and 1894 essentially the only demographic events categorized and published by religion were the number of marriages in each country within the Monarchy. The number of Jewish births and deaths was published in *Vital Statistics* only between 1895 and 1913. To overcome the gap in the Jewish birth and death publication between 1857 and 1895, historian Jan Heřman estimated their numbers on the basis of the surviving registry data (Heřman n.d.³). His estimates are used in this study (details on Heřman's estimates and methodology are presented in Appendices 3 and 4).

After the foundation of Czechoslovakia, *Vital Statistics* (*Pohyb obyvatelstva v Republice Československé*) began to be published in 1919 by the Czechoslovak Statistical Office. Its data categorized by religion are comparable to the data published in *Vital Statistics* before World War I and are somewhat more detailed in content. This publication series ended with the 1937 edition of *Vital Statistics*. Between 1938 and 1944 *Vital Statistics* was published for the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia as a whole, but excluding the population of German nationality, and excluding the Sudetenland, which was annexed to Nazi Germany in 1938. Until 1940 these publications included data on the Jewish population. In 1941 mass transports of Jews from Bohemia and Moravia to concentration camps began, and this is where the demographic study of the Jewish population has to stop and respectfully yield space to historians of the Shoah.⁴ A complete overview of data sources on vital statistics and their content is given in Appendix 2. Appendix 3 provides time series of the births, deaths, and marriages, as well as counts of the Jewish population in Bohemia.

³ The manuscript is undated.

⁴ Documentation of the transports, the number of people transported, and other literature on the fate of the Jews under the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia is available from the library of the Terezín Initiative Institute and the Jewish Museum in Prague.

Most of the data used in this book were extracted directly from the primary data sources described above. The data on population counts and the vital statistics of Jews and the total population in Bohemia from before 1860 are cited from a publication of Sekera (1978). It contains copies, summaries, and annotations of data compiled from the original publications of the censuses and vital statistics for Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia. Some of the data in this book were taken from secondary sources, especially the data used for international comparisons. Notice is given wherever these data are used.

The demographic analysis that forms the core of this book is based on the data sources itemized above. I constructed time series and structural indicators by drawing on combined data from various sources of various quality. There are of course certain risks associated with combining data from sources of varying quality. Particular caution should be applied to analyses and comparisons of data dating from before the 1850s, and there are two main reasons why. The first reason is the often unsystematic way in which data were collected and summarized in that period. For example, it is recognized that the population counts for the period 1761–1769 underestimate the total population in Bohemia by nearly 25% compared to the census of 1770 (Sekera 1978). The differences in the quality with which the task of data collection was executed depended also on who was collecting them: the local nobility (before 1770), and military and state officials (after 1770). In general, when we see an overly large jump in population figures before the 1850s the reason should be sought first in methodological changes or in the quality of data collection, and only second in possible external effects (such as famine, epidemics, or war). Otherwise the high yearly or five-year fluctuations in data are simply an impossibility. On the other hand, when the time series of population counts looks smooth with a steady trend, the data can be considered to be on the whole reliable. The second kind of caution that should be applied to pre-1850s data is inherent to the Jewish population. There are many indices that support the hypothesis that population registers of marriages and also of births and perhaps even of deaths were manipulated and under-registered in order to comply with the restrictions imposed by the Familiant law up until 1849. Local rabbis were responsible for maintaining population registers on Jewish vital statistics, and although the registers were supposed to be controlled by local priests, there is good reason to suspect that the data were systematically and consciously misrepresented. It was much more common and easier to falsify vital statistics than population counts because of the way in which the data were collected. I will

discuss data reliability issues in more detail in each section of Parts 2 and 3 (for a similar problem in Moravia, see Nesládková 2003). The main message of this chapter is that the data sources for the analysis of the Jewish population in Bohemia are quite rich already from the early eighteenth century onward. However, one has to be cautious while using them. They may be incomplete and under-registered intentionally, depending on who collected the data, how, and when. Without a larger knowledge of the data source quality one should refrain from drawing conclusions from mere time series and trends.

PART 2.

Jewish Population Development in Bohemia: Trends and Transitions from the Mid-Eighteenth to the Mid-Twentieth Century

CHAPTER 4

Population Growth and Spatial Distribution

An analysis of Jewish population development forms the core of this book. This part presents a detailed analysis of population size, spatial distribution, age, sex, and marital structure, nuptiality, divorce, fertility, mortality, and causes of death, natural increase, and migration of the Jewish population in Bohemia. It does so over a time span of two centuries, from the mid-eighteenth to the mid-twentieth century. This approach makes it possible not only to describe concrete changes in population development but also to track the progress of the demographic transition. The population development of Jews in Bohemia is presented in comparison with the total population development and, where data allows, also with the Jewish populations of other Central European lands. That shows how, when, and in what way the Jewish population development in Bohemia was avant-garde. All the chapters in this part are similarly structured, opening with a summary of data sources, followed by an analysis of the given demographic process, and closing with the most important conclusions in bullet points.

Sergio DellaPergola, a prominent demographer specializing in the study of the Jews, argues that until the seventeenth century Jewish population growth around the world was slower than that of the total population, but throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, world Jewry increased more rapidly than the surrounding societies. Moreover, the pace of this increase tended to accelerate (DellaPergola 1989, 156). This chapter focuses on Jewish population growth in Bohemia and examines how well it matches the picture of Jewish population growth drawn by DellaPergola. It shows especially the difference of population growth dynamics before and after 1849, the year when legal restrictions against Jews were lifted, including those limiting the number of allowed resident families

and free choice of place of residence. The chapter also looks at changes in the spatial distribution of Jews across Bohemia and at how Jews went from being a dominantly rural to an urban population.

Data sources:

- 1) 1724, 1729 and 1792, 1793: Censuses of the Jewish population; cited from Kuděla (1989), Sander (2002).
- 2) 1754 and 1760–1776: Censuses of general population distinguishing Jews; cited from Sekera (1978).
- 3) 1785 and 1800: Censuses of general population distinguishing Jews; cited from Goehlert (1855).
- 4) 1828–1851: *Tafeln zur Statistik der Österreichischen Monarchie*; population type – de facto; cited from Sekera (1978).
- 5) 1857, 1869, 1880, 1890, 1900, 1910: Censuses of the population in the Austrian Monarchy; population type – de facto; data for 1869 are cited from Lepař (1900).
- 6) 1921 and 1930: Censuses of the population of the Republic of Czechoslovakia; population type – de facto.
- 7) 1922–1923: *Jüdischer Kalender für die Tschechoslovakische Republik auf das Jahr 5683. Statistik der jüdischen Kultusgemeinden in der Tschechoslovakischen Republik*, Moravská Ostrava; population type – unknown.
- 8) 1938 and 1939: *Věstník* . . . (1947) published figures for the number of Jews in Bohemia and Moravia as of 31 December 1938 and the number of Jews, as defined by the racist Nuremberg laws, present in Bohemia and Moravia as of 15 March 1939 (the day of the Nazi occupation of Bohemia and Moravia and the establishment of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia). The sources of these data are unclear.

Available counts indicate that between the 1720s and 1775 the number of Jews in Bohemia leveled off at around 30,000; by 1785 there were more than 42,000; in 1835 the size of the Jewish population was more than 70,000; and from the mid-nineteenth century it rose steadily until 1890, when it peaked at almost 95,000 (Table 4.1). The Jewish population started to decrease after 1890 and by 1930 had fallen to 76,301, a decline of 19% from 1890. On the eve of the Nazi occupation in 1939, there were 78,612 Jews living in Bohemia. These figures indicate that, after a period of stagnation, the Jewish population in Bohemia started to grow dramatically in the

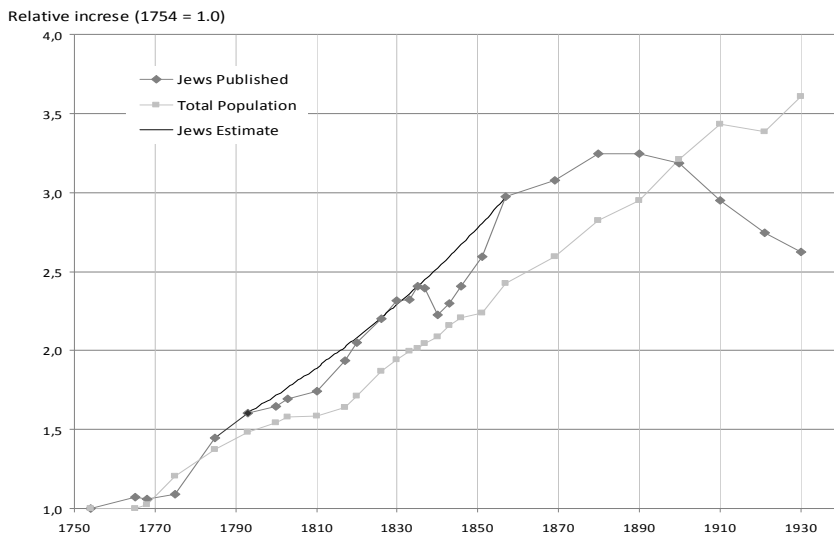
late eighteenth century, and then the pace of growth slowed, until in the last decade of the nineteenth century it turned into a decrease. But are these figures reliable? How could such rapid population growth of Jews in Bohemia have occurred? And could such growth even have been possible given the existence of the Familiant Law officially limiting the number of Jewish families permitted to live in Bohemia between 1724 and 1849?

It may be that people circumvented the numerus clausus imposed by the Familiant Law and that the census numbers are indeed correct. Alternatively, the population counts in the eighteenth century are more underestimated than counts in later decades, and consequently in a time series the growth looks more intensive than it was in reality. Both these hypotheses are partly true. Crucial to the understanding of the pace of Jewish population growth is to assess the reliability of the data that originated before 1857, the year of the first nineteenth-century census with reliable counts on the Jewish population. The most reliable of the eighteenth-century data are without question those from the Jewish censuses in 1724, 1729, 1792, and 1793. They were conducted in order to determine the number of Jews in Bohemia and focused on all members of the Jewish community (including women and all children and even in Jewish households without a Familiant number). The 1720s censuses show that the total Jewish population in Bohemia at that time was 31,604. This corresponds to the kinds of figures found in the censuses conducted among the total population in Bohemia in the mid-eighteenth century, which recorded 29,094 Jews in 1754 and 31,141 Jews in 1765. The stagnation or even decrease in numbers in the mid-eighteenth century compared to the 1720s may be explained by the crisis of Prague Jews who were expelled in the 1740s. Although they could return in 1748, it is likely that some of the exiled Prague Jews never returned from abroad. By the end of the eighteenth century, 46,691 Jews were present in Bohemia, forming 9,043 families in 1792 and 1793. Not all of them, however, were Familiants: 5% (476 families) were living in Bohemia without a Familiant number. The data from the censuses of the total population in 1785 and 1800 give similar figures for the size of the Jewish population and therefore can also be considered to be reliable. However, some of the other censuses seem to be less reliable.

The different methods used and varying quality of the data collection in the censuses in some cases cause irregularities in the trend in Jewish population growth. The “jumps” in population increases between the censuses of 1775 and 1785 and between 1851 and 1857 are suspicious because they imply a Jewish population growth rate of 2.8% annually. It is far too high, both compared to other periods and compared to the growth

rate of the total population. A strange movement in the opposite direction, a decrease in the Jewish population, is registered between 1835 and 1840 without any events such as war, famine or epidemics being present. The growth of the total population was quasi linear throughout the nineteenth century (Figure 4.1). If we assume the same linear progression in the Jewish population growth before the mid-nineteenth century we can estimate its values by constant annual growth rates.¹ When we compare the computed estimates with the published counts, we see that they match well for the years 1830 and 1835. The counts for 1800 are undervalued by 4%, and those for between 1840 and 1851 are undervalued by 7% to 12% (see the data in Appendix 3 and in Figure 4.1).

Figure 4.1: Relative population increase of Jewish and total population registered and estimated values, 1754–1930



Note 1: The figure displays trends on the basis of data from data sources of different reliability.

Note 2: Population size in the initial year 1754, Jews: 29,094; Total population: 1,970,378.

Note 3: Series “Estimate” is an estimated population growth based on the population counts derived from the compound annual growth rate between 1793 and 1857.

Sources: Total population and Jewish censuses 1754–1930, for the details see Data sources window above or Appendix 1.

¹ The estimated growth rate is the population growth differential between the years 1793 and 1857 (the years for which we have reliable data).

Table 4.1: Size of the Jewish and total population of Bohemia and the relative population increase, 1724–1930

Year	Population count		Relative population increase from 1754		Share of Jews in the total population, %
	Jews	Total	Jews	Total	
1724/1729	31,604	—	1.09	—	—
1754	29,094	1,970,378	1.00	1.00	1.48
1765	31,141	1,972,154	1.07	1.00	1.58
1785	42,129	2,704,254	1.45	1.37	1.56
1792/1793	46,691	2,925,541	1.60	1.48	1.60
1800	47,865	3,042,622	1.65	1.54	1.57
1830	67,338	3,827,749	2.31	1.94	1.76
1834	69,205	3,901,129	2.38	1.98	1.77
1857	86,436	4,778,693	2.97	2.43	1.81
1869	89,539	5,106,069	3.08	2.59	1.75
1880	94,449	5,808,702	3.25	2.95	1.63
1890	94,479	5,843,094	3.25	2.97	1.62
1900	92,745	6,318,697	3.19	3.21	1.47
1910	85,798	6,769,237	2.95	3.44	1.27
1921	79,777	6,670,882	2.74	3.39	1.20
1930	76,301	7,109,376	2.62	3.61	1.07

Note 1: 1724 and 1793 censuses of rural Jews, 1729 and 1792 censuses of Prague Jews.

Note 2: 1724/1729 and 1792/1793 data for Jews are the sum of rural and Prague Jews from the censuses in the respective years.

Note 3: All the registered and the estimated population counts are in Appendix 3.

Source: Kuděla (1989), Sander (2002), Sekera (1978), Censuses 1857–1930, author's computations.

After considering the data series and their reliability, it is clear that Jewish population growth in the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century was a reality. Jewish population growth was at that time occurring at a slightly but not dramatically faster pace than growth in the total population. The annual rate of Jewish population growth between 1793 and 1857 was 1.0%, whereas in the total population it was 0.8%. Jewish population doubled its size as of 1754 in 65 years and tripled in little more than 100 years (1857), whereas for the total population it took considerably longer (80 and 136 years respectively) (Figure 4.1, Table 4.1). The Jewish population was therefore growing despite the Familiant Law and the *numerus clausus*, which means that there must have been a growing number of families who were living without the legally permitted status of Familiants. If in 1793, 5% of the families were not Familiants, by the time the Familiant Law went out of effect in 1849 the figure must have

been around 50% of all Jewish families.² This clearly shows that the Familiant Law failed in its original purpose to limit the number of Jews in the country.

After 1849 when all legal restrictions against Jews were lifted, Jewish population growth in Bohemia quickly decelerated. The population was growing annually only 0.4 % in the period 1857–1880 (compared to a growth of 0.7% in the total population). In the decade between 1880 and 1890 Jewish population growth was around zero and after 1890 it was negative. The relative size of the Jewish population out of the total population began to diminish as early as 1857. It peaked that year at 1.81 % of the total population and by 1930 had decreased to 1.07%.

Not only population growth but also spatial distribution of the Jewish population changed after 1849. Until then Jews in Bohemia had lived scattered in small villages keeping an almost unchanged settlement structure since their forced expulsion from royal towns in the Middle Ages. Most of the Jewish population was concentrated in eastern Bohemia, and some lived in the southeast. Prague was the only large center of Jewish settlement (Figure 4.2). As of 1849, Jews were finally free to move within the territory as well as abroad. The first wave of Jewish migrants mostly settled not far from the communities in which they had been born (Kestenberg-Gladstein 1969a). Most of these migrants were young couples, who moved to their new homes with their traditional livelihoods, peddling door to door or selling miscellaneous goods. This wave of migration did not yet cause a significant change in the distribution of the Jewish population in Bohemia, and Jews continued to be concentrated mainly in eastern and central Bohemia, areas with mostly Czech (not German) inhabitants. The number of communities in Bohemia with Jewish inhabitants more than tripled during the first decade after 1848, growing within three years from just under 800 to more than 2,000 communities (Kestenberg-Gladstein 1968). However, many of the children born to these migrants moved to large towns and industrial regions. Thus by the late nineteenth century, within the span of two to three generations, the center of Jewish settlement in Bohemia shifted to Prague and northern and northwest Bohemia (Figure 4.3). A sizeable Jewish community reemerged in Plzeň for the first time in five hundred years. Emigration out of Bohemia was also not negligible, but the volume of emigration is hard to assess since no reliable evidence on migration exists (for the estimates of emigration after 1857 see Chapter 9). As regards internal migration, the traditional regions

² I consider the average size of a Jewish family to be five members.

of Jewish settlement in the east and southeast of Bohemia became areas of out-migration. In 1857 more than a quarter of the Jewish population in Bohemia (26.2%) lived in the southeastern Tábor (Tabor) and Čáslav (Tschaslau) regions, while in 1900 this figure was just under 13%. Prague and its environs were in-migration areas and by 1900 were home to 38% of all Jews in Bohemia compared to 16% in 1857 (Table 4.2).

Table 4.2: Change in the regional settlement distribution, Jews and the total population, Bohemia, 1857 and 1900 (%)

Distribution of the total population, 1857	Distribution of Jews, 1857	Regions ranked by the number of resident Jews (c)			Distribution of Jews, 1900	Distribution of the total population, 1900
10.4	14.9	1	Prague region	2	17.8	15.9
7.7	13.8	2	Tábor	6	6.8	5.2
7.8	12.4	3	Čáslav	8	5.9	5.8
1.5	8.9	4	Prague city (b)	1	20.1	3.2
8.2	8.6	5	Plzeň	4	7.6	6.4
7.8	7.9	6	Cheb	7	6.0	7.8
5.0	6.3	7	Žatec	5	6.8	6.8
6.7	6.0	8	Písek	12	3.5	5.4
8.4	5.3	9	Litoměřice	3	7.9	10.4
7.5	4.2	10	Chrudim	10	3.5	6.7
8.7	3.6	11	Mladá Boleslav	9	4.5	7.4
7.2	3.2	12	Jičín	13	3.1	7.3
7.3	2.6	13	Hradec Králové	14	3.0	6.7
5.8	2.2	14	České Budějovice	11	3.5	5.0
100.0	100.0	Total		100.0	100.0	

(a) The 1857 data represent *de iure* whereas in 1900 *de facto* population.

(b) Praha city (Prague city) stands alone outside the Praha region. Praha city in 1900 includes Vyšehrad and Holešovice-Bubny, which were not yet part of it in 1857.

(c) Figures for political districts from 1900 are converted to correspond to the regional divisions of 1857. Just in rare cases the regional borders of 1900 did not match the 1857 borders.

Source: Censuses 1857 and 1900, author's computation.

Among the districts that saw the biggest absolute increase in the size of the Jewish population only three lay south of an imaginary line drawn between Plzeň, Prague, and Mladá Boleslav—České Budějovice, Písek (Písek), and Německý Brod (Deutschbrod)—all the other top-immigration

Table 4.3: Legal districts in Bohemia with the largest in-migration and out-migration of Jews, 1869 and 1890

Legal districts with positive increase	Jewish population 1869	Jewish population 1890	Relative increase, in %	Legal districts with decrease	Jewish population 1869	Jewish population 1890	Relative increase, in %
Praha	13,056	17,635	35.1	Čáslav	1,134	-474	-41.8
Plzeň	1,299	2,725	109.8	Ml. Boleslav	1,379	-434	-31.5
Teplice	1,516	2,195	44.8	Votice	1,015	-419	-41.3
Žatec	1,076	1,753	62.9	Dol. Kralovice	1,191	-407	-34.2
Liberec – město	314	957	204.8	Blovice	716	-358	-50.2
Karlovy Vary	757	1,324	74.9	Soběslav	720	-333	-46.3
České Budějovice	614	1,143	86.2	Milevsko	857	-316	-36.9
Ústí nad Labem	148	572	286.5	Sedlec	562	-246	-43.8
Jablonec n. Nisou	112	513	358.0				
Smíchov	1,046	1,373	31.3				
Litoměřice	371	686	84.9				
Most	457	743	62.6				
Německý Brod	286	548	91.6				
Rakovník	354	590	66.7				

Note: Displayed legal districts had a population increase/decrease of more than 200 individuals.

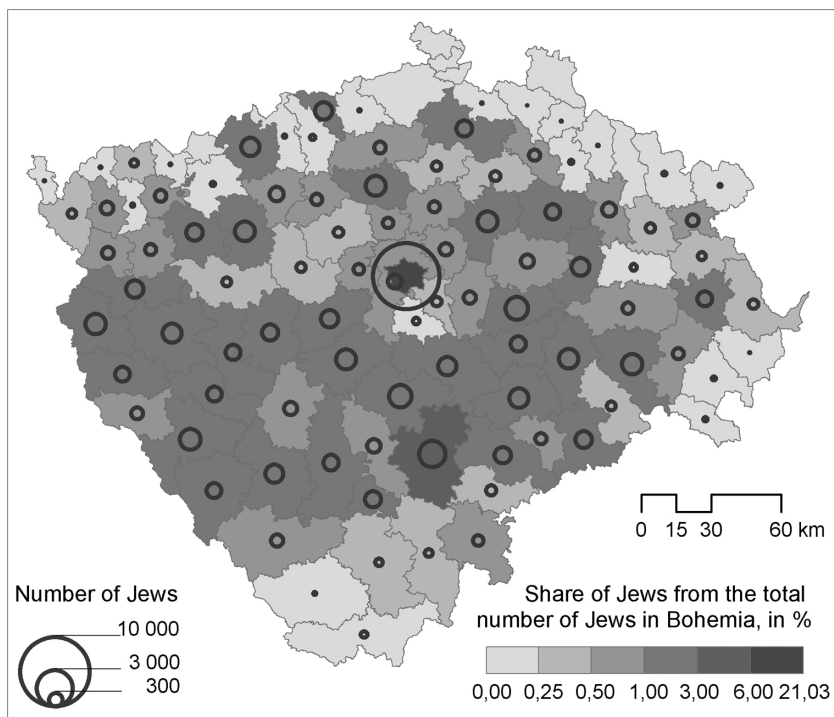
Source: Lepař (1900), author's computations.

destinations were north of this line. By contrast, almost all the districts that experienced the largest absolute decreases in Jewish population were located to the south of this line. The same spatial pattern of migration gains and losses cannot be observed, however, in the total population. Only three of the districts that saw the biggest increases in Jewish population also had similar or higher relative increases in the total population: these were Smíchov (Smichow), Teplice (Teplitz), and Most (Brüx). Consequently, in 1890, 36% of Jews were living in the fifteen most attractive districts (compared to 24% in 1869; Table 4.3), whereas the same districts accounted for 13% of the total population (compared to about 12% in 1869). As the northern regions were the most dynamic in terms of industrial and economic growth, it seems clear that Jewish migration was driven by economic opportunities. This contrasted with the general population's migration pattern, where this strong drive was absent. There was also a linguistic consequence of Jewish migration, as Jews moved out of the primarily Czech-speaking regions and mainly into the German-speaking regions in northern and northwestern Bohemia or to linguistically-mixed Prague.

Changes in settlement structure between 1900 and 1930 are difficult to compare regionally because during this period the boundaries of many districts were altered. The flow of migration was still prevailingly from rural to urban and industrialized areas. Because of the absolute decrease in the number of Jews in Bohemia, their numbers rarely increased at the district level. The only political districts in which there was an absolute increase in the size of the Jewish population between 1900 and 1930 were Prague, Děčín, Karlovy Vary, Liberec, Prachatice (Prachatitz), Rumburk (Rumburg), Semily (Semil), Teplice-Šanov (Teplitz-Schönau), and Ústí nad Labem. In all the other political districts the size of the Jewish population declined and in every district in Bohemia the share of Jews in the total population decreased (Figure 4.3).

The relative size of the Jewish population in Bohemia out of the total number of Jews in the Austrian Crown lands and of Europe declined quickly from at least the last third of the nineteenth century. While the population growth and immigration of Jews from the East fed Jewish population growth in Western Europe, and in the Eastern European community natural increases offset migration losses, the Jewish community living in late nineteenth-century Bohemia was somewhere between these two types. It was primarily urban and its population grew little or even decreased in size but it never became a destination of Jewish immigration from the East.

Figure 4.2: Spatial distribution of Jews in Bohemia in 1792–1794



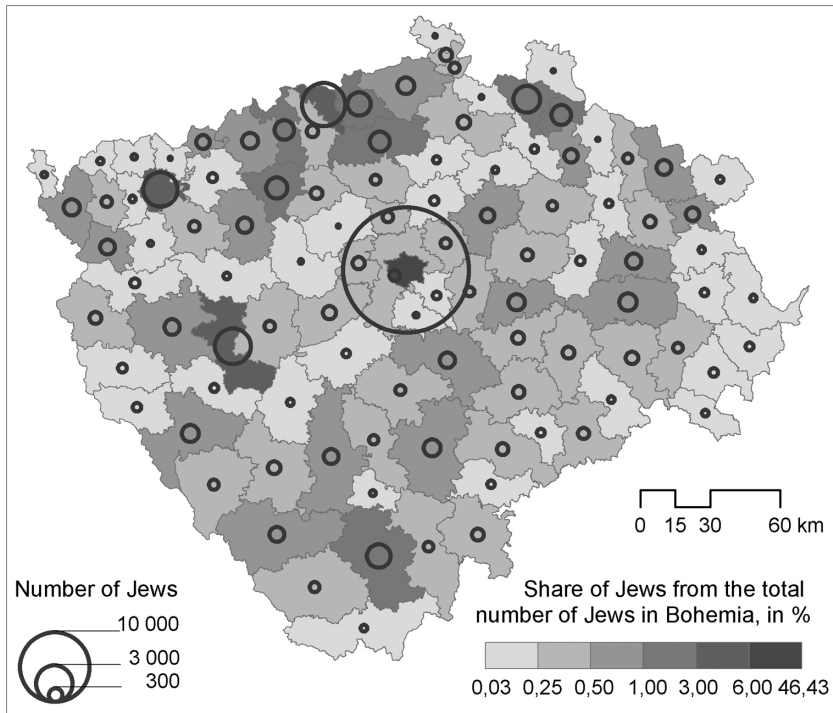
Source: Woitsch et al. (2007), Rumpler and Seger (2010), author's computations.

The relative increase in the size of the Jewish population in the whole Austrian Crown lands between 1869 and 1910 was greater than the increase in the total population size (the number of Jews increased by 160%, the total population by 140%). This was particularly true in Silesia (220% / 150%) and Lower Austria (350% / 180%).³ In Galicia the Jewish population increased at approximately the same pace as the total population (150% / 150%). The figures in Bohemia and Moravia were reversed around (100% / 130%), with the slowest overall population increase in the entire Habsburg Monarchy. Vienna saw a staggering rise in its number of Jewish inhabitants in the second half of the nineteenth century. As Vienna gradually assumed a position of growing economic and cultural significance within Central Europe, its Jewish population grew from about 7,000 in 1857 to 175,000 in 1910. Thus in the span of five decades the Jewish

³ For more on the development of the Jewish and total populations in the Austrian Crown lands, see Appendix 14.

community in Vienna, which in 1857 was smaller than the one in Prague, grew to a size that was greater than the total sum of Jews living in all of the Bohemian lands.

Figure 4.3: Spatial distribution of Jews in Bohemia in 1930



Source: Census 1930, author's computations.

When the Czechoslovakian Republic was established in 1918 Jews living in the Bohemian lands, Slovakia, and Ruthenia were all assembled within one state. Of the more than 350,000 Jews in Czechoslovakia, fewer than 23% lived in Bohemia. The Jewish communities of each land differed markedly from each other in terms of their historical background, their conception of Judaism, and their social and demographic structure. These differences will be analyzed in more depth in the following chapters. Between 1921 and 1930 an intercensal decrease was recorded in the number of Jews living in the Bohemian lands, while just a slight increase was observed in Slovakia, and the biggest increase was seen in Ruthenia. In Czechoslovakia as a whole the relative increase in the size of the Jewish population was smaller than the overall relative increase in population size.

Table 4.4: Jewish and total population by municipality size, Bohemia, 1921 and 1930

Number of inhabitants	Jews		Total population	
	1921	1930	1921	1930
500 and less	3.3	3.0	21.6	27.0
501–5 000	19.8	13.6	48.1	38.1
5 001–20 000	20.5	14.1	14.4	12.6
20 001–50 000	12.7	9.1	4.4	5.3
50 001 and more	43.7	60.2	11.5	17.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Census 1921 and 1930, author's computations.

Table 4.5: Size and share of the Jewish population, lands of the Austrian Crown, 1869 and 1910

Austrian Crown lands	Number of Jews		Relative increase 1869 = 100 %	Share of Jews from the total population (%)		Share of Jews from all Jews in the Crown lands (%)	
	1869	1910		1869	1910	1869	1910
Total	822,220	1,313,687	160	4.0	4.6	100.0	100.0
Bohemia	89,539	85,798	96	1.8	1.3	10.9	6.5
Moravia	42,899	41,174	96	2.1	1.6	5.2	3.1
Silesia	6,142	13,431	219	1.2	1.8	0.7	1.0
Galicia	575,918	871,804	150	10.6	10.9	70.0	66.4
Lower Austria (incl. Vienna)	52,350	184,847	350	2.6	5.2	6.4	14.1
Others	55,372	116,633	211	-	-	6.7	8.9

Source: Thon (1908), Census 1910, author's computations.

There are few sources other than state statistics that capture the size of the Jewish population within Czechoslovakia and that can be used to supplement census data. The only such source is the *Jüdischer Kalender...* (1922). Although the data source is unclear, the title of the publication suggests that it contains lists of members of Jewish religious communities (Kehilas). A comparison of these data with the 1921 census reveals some interesting findings. According to the 1922/1923 *Jewish Calendar* there were 84,796 Jews living in Jewish religious districts in Bohemia, which is 5,019 more than the number of Jews counted in the population census. In Moravia the difference was 2,756, while the biggest difference was in Silesia with 12,069. Clearly the number of Jews recorded in the 1921 census was smaller across the Bohemian lands than the number of people

recorded as members of Jewish religious communities in the 1922/1923 *Jewish Calendar*. This may have been because some people concealed their religious identity as Jews or were temporarily or permanently not present in the lands at the time of the 1921 census. Conversely, people recorded as members of religious communities may have been just temporarily present in the Bohemian lands, for example, for the purpose of work, but were not documented in the census. If this comparison can be taken as an indicator of the reliability of the data on the size of the Jewish population in the 1921 census, then the census data were underestimating the real number of the Jews by about 5% in Bohemia and Moravia and are absolutely unreliable for Silesia.

Table 4.6: Size and increase of the Jewish population in the Czechoslovak lands, 1921 and 1930

Lands	Jewish population		Relative intercensal increase, per cent
	1921	1930	
Bohemia	79,777	76,301	95.6
Moravia and Silesia	45,306	41,250	91.0
Slovakia	135,918	136,737	100.6
Ruthenia	93,341	102,542	109.9
Czechoslovakia- total	354,342	356,830	100.7

Source: Census 1921 and 1930, author's computations.

Summary:

- From the mid-eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth century the number of Jews in Bohemia grew rapidly and at a faster pace than the total population. The average annual growth rate of the Jewish population between 1793 and 1857 was 1.0% compared to 0.8% for the total population.
- The Jewish population counts that are available from official statistics for the period before 1849 are of varying reliability. The data for the late 1830s and up to 1851 in particular are undervalued (by 7 to 12%).
- Jewish population growth in Bohemia began to decelerate in the mid-nineteenth century, and in the late nineteenth century it began to decrease. In 1930, there were 76,301 Jews in Bohemia, which is 18,178 fewer than in 1890, when the Jewish population was at its largest.

- From the mid-nineteenth century the center of Jewish settlement began to shift from central and southeastern Bohemia to Prague and other large towns and to the industrializing regions of northern and north-western Bohemia. The pre-1849 dispersed rural structure of Jewish settlement transformed into an urban structure. This trend peaked in the 1930s.
- Bohemia and Moravia were the only Austrian Crown lands in which the size of the Jewish population was declining by the turn of the twentieth century because these lands did not experience mass Jewish immigration the way Lower Austria (Vienna) and Silesia did, and they did not have the high rates of natural increase as had Galician Jews.

CHAPTER 5

Population Structure: Sex, Age, and Marital Status

An analysis of the population structure by sex, age, and marital status is essential to any deeper insight into the development of demographic processes. This chapter examines the dramatic change in the Jewish age structure from expanding to contracting and the changes in the marital structure, all of which occurred within just a few decades in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Data sources:

- The 1762–1768 censuses: These sources contain data on the Jewish population in Bohemia by sex and age (Source: Sekera 1978). These data can only be taken as rough indicators because little is known about the method used to collect them, and there are reasonable grounds to assume that they are incomplete or distorted in some way (e.g., some of the data were collected just for military purposes, so here women and children may be underestimated, and both the nobility, for tax reasons, and Jews themselves had an interest in under-reporting Jewish population numbers).
- Between 1768 and 1890 there are no published data on the Jewish age structure in Bohemia.
- The 1890 and 1930 censuses: These include data on marital status in the Jewish population by age and sex.
- The 1900, 1910, and 1921 censuses: These include data on the Jewish population by sex, and the 1900 census also includes data on the age structure of Jews.
- The *Věstník ŽNO* published in 1938 and 1943 in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia (*Věstník ... 1947*): it includes age structure of the Jewish population in Protectorate in 1939.

(A detailed list of sources used is presented in the References section.)

Sex structure

The sex structure of a population depends on the ratio of men to women at birth, age- and sex-specific mortality, the structure of migration, and external factors with gender-selective effects such as war. Data from the 1890 and later censuses indicate that the ratio of women to men in the Jewish population (the femininity index) was always greater than 1, but was lower than the ratio for the total population in Bohemia. This means that Jewish women outnumbered men but by less than women in the total population. Women generally do outnumber men in the population, the reason for this being that they tend to live longer. The number of men in the population can in some cases be greater than the number of women, for instance when the mortality conditions of women are worse or in instances of high male immigration (such as observed in Lower Austria among Jews by the turn of the twentieth century, Table 5.1). These situations are, however, uncommon at the state level and are more often encountered in smaller territorial units or sub-populations. There are a couple of possible explanations as to why the sex ratio in the Jewish population in Bohemia differed from that of the total population. One could be the relatively higher net in-migration of Jewish men, but this is hard to underpin with reliable data. The most likely reason is the mortality differentials between Jewish and gentile men. Excess mortality was probably already lower among Jewish men in 1890 than among gentile men. This can be deduced from the shares of males and females in the population by age. In 1890 Jewish males outnumbered females among children under the age of 10 and did so again in the age groups 31–40 and 41–50. In the total population, however, males predominated only in the youngest age group 0–10 years.

Large differences existed between the sex ratios in different lands (Table 5.1). In the Austrian Crown lands, the biggest predominance of men over women in the Jewish population was in Silesia and Lower Austria (including Vienna). This is a sign that male labor immigration was high in these regions. Galicia is the only land in which the femininity index was higher in the Jewish population than in the total population, and this would correspond to the effect of substantial labor migration of Jewish males from Galicia.

Table 5.1: The ratio of men to a thousand women, Jews and the total population, selected Central European lands, 1890–1930

The ratio of men to women										
	Bohemia		Moravia		Silesia		Galicia		Lower Austria	
	Jews	Total	Jews	Total	Jews	Total	Jews	Total	Jews	Total
1,890	1,029	1,071	1,083	1,094	—	—	1,058	1,027	949	1,035
1,900	1,045	1,056	1,035	1,077	1,002	1,058	1,064	1,022	946	1,034
1,910	1,031	1,047	1,012	1,066	991	1,045	1,058	1,038	964	1,046
1,921	1,051	1,080	1,024	1,096	1,066	1,079	—	—	—	—
1,930 (a)	1,026	1,059	989	1,070	—	—	—	—	—	—

Note: In 1930, the data for Moravia and Silesia were combined.

Source: Census 1890–1930, author's computations.

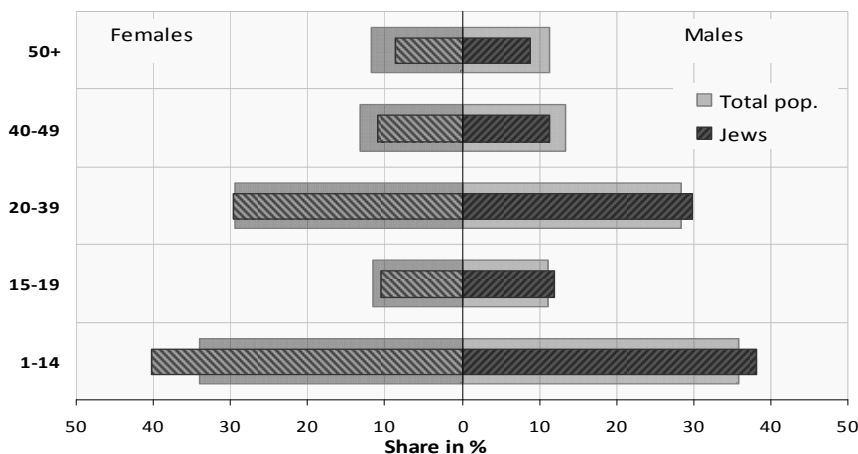
Age and marital structure

The age structure of the Jewish population by sex and marital status was already recorded in the censuses between 1764 and 1766, and although there are limits to how reliable these sources are,¹ a comparison of the total and Jewish populations reveals two important things: first, the age group of children (1–14 year-olds) was relatively larger in the Jewish population than among the total population, and second, there was a larger share of married women among Jews than in the total population. Among people aged 20–39, 82% of Jews were married but only 62% of gentiles, and the share was even higher in older age groups, with 89% of Jews age 40–49 married compared to 80% of gentiles, and 80% compared to 71% in the 50 and over age group (Figure 5.1 and Appendix 5). Although the recorded data for Jews fluctuate considerably from one year to the next, the larger share of married people among Jews is consistent. From this it can be concluded that the higher marriage rate among Jews in late eighteenth-century Bohemia was a fact. The higher proportion of fertile cohorts married, the larger the number of children born to these cohorts were. In a society where most children were born inside wedlock it led also to higher

¹ The fluctuation in shares in the three years between 1764 and 1766 is considerable. The share of single Jewish men aged 20–39 ranges between 26% and 16% and for women of the same age between 21% and 11% in the period of these three years. Such variation does not occur in the data for the total population for the same period.

fertility among Jews. The consequence of this is that the population growth of Jews was higher than in the total population.

Figure 5.1: Age structure by sex, Jews and the total population, 1764–1765 (%)



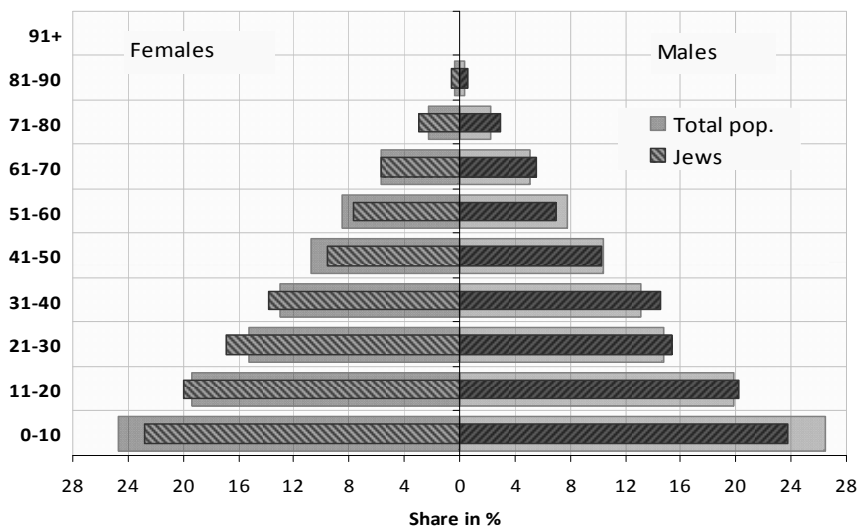
Note: Children aged 0-1 year were not included in the census.

Source: Sekera (1978), author's computations.

The next available age profile of the Jewish population is not until 1890 (Figure 5.2). Both populations show an expanding age structure, but Jews had a smaller share of children aged 0–10 by about 2%, and a smaller share of both men and women aged 41–50 and 51–60. When the age structure of Jews in Bohemia is compared to the age structures of other groups living in Bohemia in 1890, it most resembles that of the German-speaking population that resided in Bohemia and that of the populations that lived in Bohemian municipalities with 10,000 to 20,000 inhabitants.² The age structure of the Jewish population in Bohemia from 1930 was already contracting (Figure 5.3). The decrease in the size of the 10–14 age group that was caused by the decline in the number of births during World War I was greater in the Jewish population than in the total population. Even 15–19 year-old Jewish males and females were fewer in number than their gentile counterparts. The biggest decline, however, was in the

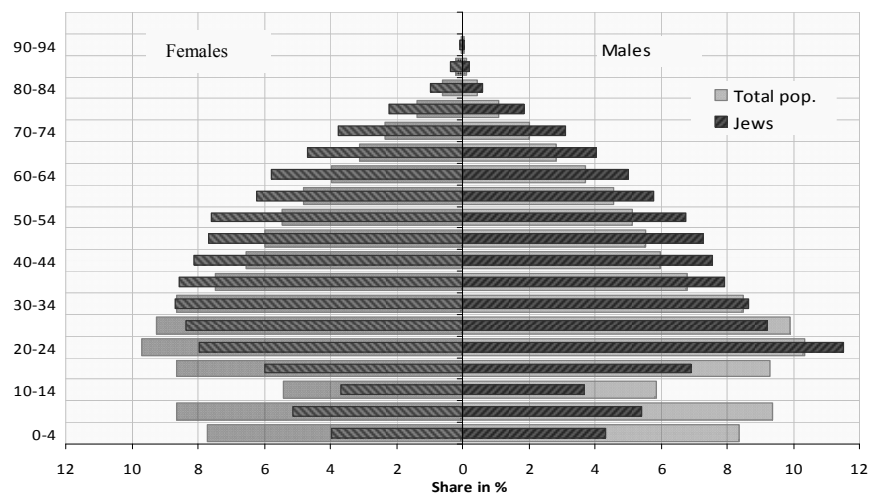
² The age structures recorded in the census of 1890 in Bohemia are available for the total population, the Jewish population, the population in municipalities with 10,000–20,000 inhabitants, the population living in municipalities with more than 20,000 inhabitants, and the German-speaking and Czech-speaking (i.e., including Slovak and Moravian) populations.

Figure 5.2: Age structure by sex, Jews and the total population, 1890 (%)



Source: Census 1890, author's computations.

Figure 5.3: Age structure by sex, Jews and the total population, 1930 (%)



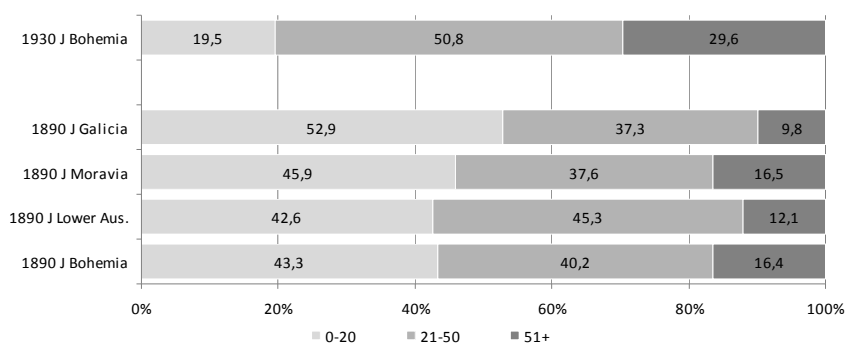
Source: Census 1930, author's computation.

0–9 age group of Jews, which in 1930 accounted for less than 10% of the Jewish population in Bohemia, compared to 17% of the total population.

A drop in the fertility rate alone is not enough to explain this decline; other factors might have been the secularization and acculturation of Jews, which proceeded with unprecedented intensity between the two world wars (more attention is devoted to these processes in Chapters 7 and 9). The data on the age structure come from a population census in which religious denomination was self-declared by the respondents. Consequently, there may also be an age-specific underestimation of the number of Jews.

When the age structures of Jewish populations across the Austrian Crown lands in 1890 are compared, all of them are found to have had a large share of young people under the age of 20 (Figure 5.4). This age group was largest in the Jewish population in Galicia (53%) and the smallest in Bohemia and Lower Austria (43%). The largest share of 21–50 year-olds was in the Jewish population in Lower Austria, at 45%, which was 8 percentage points more than in Galicia and 5 percentage points more than in Bohemia. By 1930 the Jewish population in Bohemia was already exhibiting the typical signs of a contracting age structure, in which the population aged 0–14 is smaller than the population over 60. Data from 1939, which included Jews living in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia who were defined according to the Nuremberg racial laws, show even a smaller share of children and a larger share of people over the age of 60.

Figure 5.4: Jewish population by three major age groups, selected Austrian Crown lands in 1890, Bohemia in 1930 (%)



Note: The age groups in 1930 are 0–19, 20–49, 50+.

Source: Census 1890 and 1930, author's computations.

Demography's interest in the marital status of the population mainly pertains to the share and age distribution of married people, as in many cultures wedlock is associated with family formation. Changes in marital status trends almost always lead to changes in family formation trends. In the past it was very rare for children to be born out of wedlock, and only the married population had children (although some cultural exceptions existed). In some cultures people got married almost universally and at a relatively young age. In others, it was common first to accumulate some capital and then to marry later or, if a man was not successful, never. Cultures adhering to the first model started procreation at a younger age and were more likely to have a higher number of offspring. Moreover, when this model was universal in the population, the intensity of growth was more likely to be greater than in the second model. Traditionally Jews followed the first model of early and universal marriage and intensive childbearing. It is likely that the introduction of the Familiant Law in 1726 made it difficult for them to maintain this marital pattern. Although the preceding chapter showed that the Jewish population in Bohemia continued to grow despite the existence of the Familiant Law, the control of the minimal age of marriage and other complications that ensued from the decree probably resulted to some extent in the postponement of childbearing and a decrease in its intensity. However, the earliest available data on the marital structure of the Jews in Bohemia (based on the 1762–1768 census) indicate that the share of Jewish men and women in the population who were married was still higher than in the total population.

About a hundred years later, in 1890, Jewish women and men were already marrying later than the gentiles in Bohemia: in 1890, 36% of all men in Bohemia aged 21–30 were married, but only 18% of Jews. Among women the figures were 52% and 45%, respectively. The share of singles was higher in the Jewish population right up to and including the 41–50 age group, after which it was smaller than the total population (see Appendix 5). Older Jews were still more likely to be married than the total population, and had also a smaller share of widows and widowers either owing to more frequent remarriage or a higher life expectancy. From a cohort perspective, it was the Jews born in the 1840s and later that deviated from the traditional Jewish behavior of almost universal marriage. However, Jews still had higher age-specific shares of married people than the populations living in the Bohemian towns with more than 20,000 inhabitants, where, particularly among women, there was a very high share of those who never married: about 26% among women aged 31–40 and 18% among those aged 41–50 (compared to 23% and 11% among Jewish women in Bohemia).

The differences between the age-specific marital status of Jews and the total population in Bohemia continued to grow over time. As data from the 1930 census show, only 20% of Jewish men aged 25–29 were married compared to 53% in the total population. Exactly 50% of Jewish men aged 30–34 were married, while the figure was 78% in the total population. Although the difference between women was smaller, the share of Jewish married women aged 30–34 was still 7 percentage points lower than the share in the total population (69% to 76%; see Appendices 6 and 7). The share of men and women who never married remained greater in the Jewish population than in the total population. The share of single Jewish women almost never fell below 10% in any age group. The largest share of married women in the Jewish and total populations was in the 35–39 age group at 72% and 77%, respectively. The largest share of married Jewish men came at a later age, rising to 85% in the 50–54 age group, while in the total population of men it reached a high of 90% in the 45–49 age group. In 1930 divorce was included among the categories of marital status and a significant share of divorcees was recorded in the population. The number of divorced women tended to be higher in both the Jewish and total populations. Among Jewish women between the ages of 30 and 49 the share of divorcees was just over 3%. The largest share of divorced Jewish men was 2.7% in the 45–54 age group. Among both men and women the share of divorcees was higher in the Jewish population than in the total population. As in 1890, in 1930 the share of Jewish widowers was lower than in the total population. At the same time the share of Jewish widows did not differ significantly from the majority population. The later marrying age and the larger shares of divorcees and singles are probably among the main factors behind the decrease in the number of births and they added to the contracting character of the Jewish age structure. Age-specific marital rates from 1890 indicate that marriage postponement to a later age and increasing numbers of people never marrying had been a reality among Bohemian Jews since the 1870s.

Summary:

- The censuses from the 1760s show that the proportion of children aged 1–14 was larger in the Jewish population than in the total population. The Jewish population was therefore younger than the total population. This supports the findings on the faster Jewish population growth discussed in Chapter 4.

- The censuses from the 1760s also show that Jews married younger and more frequently than the total population in Bohemia. This factor also contributed to the higher number of newborns and the younger age structure in the Jewish population. All this occurred despite the Familiant Law being in force.
- A decreasing share of children in the Jewish population began to be apparent in 1890. At that time, however, the Jewish population still had an expanding age structure and people in the 0–20 age group made up 43% of the Jewish population. Forty years later, in 1930, people aged 0–19 accounted for just 20% of the Jewish population and by then the Jewish age structure had the contracting character of an ageing population.
- Data from the 1890 census reveal the ratio of men to women in the Jewish population to be more equal than in the total population of Bohemia, probably because of the better mortality conditions among Jewish men.
- In 1890, younger Jews were less likely to be married and older Jews were less likely to be widowed than the total population.
- Trends that began to surface in 1890 became stronger in subsequent decades. In 1930, the share of married people was smaller in almost every age group in the Jewish population than in the total population. The proportion of never-married Jewish women exceeded that of gentiles in every age group. The share of divorcees was also larger in the Jewish than in the total population.
- The later marrying age and larger share of divorcees and people who never married are factors that reduced the effective number of those who could potentially have children and shortened the time span in which to have them. This contributed further to the contracting character of the Jewish age structure. The transition towards non-universal marriage started with the generation of Jews born in the 1840s.

CHAPTER 6

Marital Patterns: Nuptiality and Divorce

Nuptiality

Changes in nuptiality are usually an indicator of shifting value orientations in the population that subsequently affect and alter fertility.¹ Traditionally the typical Jewish marriage patterns included:

- Almost exclusively endogamous marriages (where both partners were of Jewish faith). In many lands, Bohemia included, the tendency towards endogamous marriage was reinforced by the existence of restrictive provisions that prohibited marriage between Jews and Christians.
- Marriage was essentially a universal affair; it was unusual for any Jew to remain single for life. This custom was complicated in Bohemia by the Familiant Law, which remained in force from 1726 to 1849, and which allowed the marriage just to Familiants. Jews dealt with this either by leaving the land or by marrying illegally, in which case the union was formalized according to Jewish custom but the marriage was never documented in official statistics. There are many indications that this happened quite frequently.
- Jews, both men and women, tended to marry at a very young age (in their teens).
- Higher-order marriages, involving widows, widowers, or divorcees, were very common in the Jewish population.
- A person's partner was usually chosen by the family or by a matchmaker, which meant that it was possible for marriages to take place between two individuals from distant corners of the geographically very dispersed Jewish population.

¹ With the exception of temporary fluctuations caused, for instance, by legislative amendments or war.

The timing and tempo of the change in nuptial behavior varied among Jewish communities across Europe. In Bohemia, many of these traditional behavior patterns subsided quickly in the second half of the nineteenth century. The marrying age rose, and the share of lifetime singles grew. After World War I, more changes occurred as the number of heterogamous marriages (between denominational Jew and non-Jew) increased and the divorce rate rose.

Data sources:

Data on Jewish marriages in Bohemia are available from as early as 1785. They come from vital statistics registers, which were compiled from data collected by local rabbis (and in theory supervised by local priests). Data collected in this way are available, with some interruptions, up until 1868 (from 1828 to 1859 they were published in the Austrian *Tafeln*). Between 1869 and 1880 the annual number of Jewish marriages was published in the *Statistisches Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Monarchie*, and for 1881–1913 and 1919–1937 in the Austrian and Czech *Vital Statistics*. Data on Jewish nuptiality under the Nazi occupation in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia are available for the years 1938–1940.

There are specific features to the data published on Jewish marriages in the span of these 150 years that need to be taken into account when analyzing nuptiality patterns and comparing them with nuptiality in other countries. First, the data on nuptiality before 1849 are underestimated and cannot be taken as indicative of the real nuptiality rate. Data for the years 1785–1849 are presented here just as evidence of their poor quality, but they should not be interpreted as part of the trend in Jewish nuptiality (this issue is discussed further below). Second, it should be noted that Austrian statistics documented only those marriages that were formalized in conformity with state law; marriages concluded under Jewish rite alone were not recognized by the state and were never documented in official statistics. In the second half of the nineteenth century this fact had little significance in Bohemia because most Jewish marriages occurred in conformity with state law. However, traditional undocumented marriages were significant before 1849 and remained so in such places as Galicia and Bukovina, where approximately two-thirds of all marriages went undocumented for this reason (Thon 1908, 23).

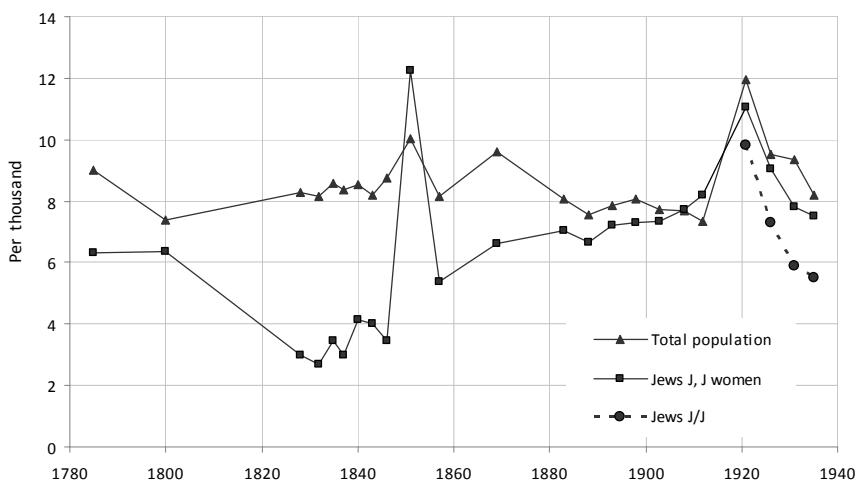
In Bohemia, data on the number of marriages recorded in *Vital Statistics* in the years between 1881 and 1897 were categorized by political

district, but thereafter were published only for Bohemia as a whole. *Vital Statistics* differentiated between endogamous Jewish marriages, i.e., where both partners were of the Jewish faith, and heterogamous marriages. Austrian law, which based its marriage regulations on the canon law of the Catholic Church, forbade marriages between Christians and Jews. As a result, up until 1913 the only heterogamous marriages in the Jewish population were between people of the Jewish faith and people of no faith. After 1918 these restrictions were relaxed and marriages between people of different faiths began to be allowed. However, in the case of a heterogamous marriage between a Catholic and a Jew, the spouses were required to declare their children to be Catholics and raise them in that faith. Czechoslovak statistics also continued to document endogamous marriages between Jews (abbreviated here as J/J) and heterogamous marriages, indicating when the bride was a Jew (JWomen) or when the groom was a Jew (JMen). Unfortunately, there is no record of what religions the non-Jewish spouses in heterogamous marriages belonged to. The crude marriage rates calculated from the marriage numbers presented in *Vital Statistics* have as the denominator the total number of Jews in a given year, estimated simply as an intercensal linear interpolation.

The manipulated registration of marriages prior to 1849 was undoubtedly motivated by a desire to conform to the marriage restriction imposed on Jews by the Familiant Law. After the legal restrictions were lifted in 1849 the marriage rates peaked to extremely high levels around 1850 (Figure 6.1). This suggests that immediately after 1849 some marriages were legalized “ex post.” However, apart from this peak, the Jewish marriage rate remained below that of the total population. It could be caused either by a true decrease in nuptiality or by an artifact such as the underregistration of some marriages concluded only with Jewish rites. Since there is no way of knowing what marriage patterns were really like in the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century, it is hard to estimate when the decrease in marriage rates really began and what triggered it. The data from the 1760s on age structure by marital status tell us that at that time there were more married Jewish men and women in every age group compared to the total population. This also means that the actual marriage rates had to be higher. Data on age-specific marital status in 1890 indicate that the share of people who never married among women over 50 and men over 60 was still smaller than in the total population. The majority of people in these

cohorts most likely married in the 1850s and 1860s. So it seems that the actual decline in marriage intensity among Jews started around 1860.

Figure 6.1: Crude marriage rate, Jews and the total population, Bohemia, 1785–1937



Note 1: Crude marriage rates for before 1849 are underestimated due to underregistration of marriages. They are presented here just as evidence of a poor quality of the official data from that period. Not to be used for a conclusion on a trend in the marriage behaviour.

Note 2: “Jews J, J women” between 1919 and 1937 include homogamous and heterogamous marriages of Jewish women; “Jews J/J” between 1919 and 1937 include solely homogamous marriages.

Note 3: Data points for the period 1883–1936 are five year averages.

Source: See Appendices 1, 2, and 3.

Up until 1900 the marriage rate among the Jewish population was 7 per thousand, while for the total population it remained around 8 per thousand. In 1900 the marriage rate among the total population went into a slight decline. The same trend did not occur in the Jewish population. On the contrary, between 1909 and 1913 the crude marriage rate in the Jewish population was higher than that of the total population. After World War I there was a compensatory increase in the number of marriages both in the Jewish and the total population, but even when this was at its highest in 1920, the crude marriage rate of the Jewish population was never higher than that of the total population (12.3‰ among Jews, 13.9‰ among the total population). The steady decrease in the crude marriage rate of the Jewish population eventually reached just 6 marriages per thousand Jews

in 1931. This decline in the marriage rate was largely due to an increase in the number of heterogamous marriages.

Before World War I there were only slight increases in the number of heterogamous Jewish marriages and there were never more than 20 such marriages annually until after 1900. In 1913 there were 58 heterogamous marriages and 662 endogamous marriages in the Jewish population. In 1919 the figures were 188 heterogamous marriages to 758 endogamous marriages, meaning that 11% of all weddings were marriages to a non-Jewish partner. The number of heterogamous marriages peaked in 1936, when there were 392 Jewish heterogamous marriages and 462 endogamous marriages (i.e., 46% of all marriages were heterogamous, or 30% of people who married had a non-Jewish partner). While in 1938 heterogamous marriages were still as high as 44%, a figure that was usual for the 1930s, in 1940 it was only 22% (just 77 of the 348 weddings).

One way of obtaining a clearer understanding of the effect of heterogamous marriages on the marriage rate of Jews is to add the number of heterogamous marriages, with either a Jewish bride or groom, to the number of endogamous Jewish marriages to see what the total marriage rates of Jewish women and Jewish men would have been had they married another member of the Jewish faith. When this adjustment is made, there is little difference between the trend in the marriage rate of Jews and the majority population (Figure 6.1). Both gentile and Jewish populations saw their marriage rates decline in the 1930s. A comparison of the crude marriage rates of heterogamous marriages by gender shows a slightly higher share of heterogamous marriages among Jewish men than women. This means that either Jewish men in a heterogamous marriage were more likely to retain their Jewish faith or Jewish men were more likely to marry a person of another faith than were Jewish women. There may be a plain social subtext to this finding. For a Jewish man marriage to a non-Jewish woman may have been a gateway into certain circles in majority Christian society and a more feasible route thereto than religious conversion. Jewish men of good economic means would have been welcome partners for gentile women, despite their religious differences. Jewish women perhaps less often possessed these same economic advantages. Karády (1990) notes that if a Jewish woman wanted easier access to majority Christian society or to improve her social status, she more likely had to convert out of the Jewish faith.

The increasing proportion of heterogamous marriages must have had an impact also on the number of newborns registered as being of the Jewish faith. But there is no way of knowing, beyond speculation, the real

impact as it is not clear from the data whether heterogamous couples and endogamous couples are similar with respect to marriage age, divorce rates, and subsequent marriages, all of which could significantly influence how many children were born to them. What is certain is that a substantial number of children born to heterogamous marriages were not registered as Jewish, because if the mother was not Jewish her children were not considered to be Jews by birth and could not be registered as such according to Jewish custom. The growth of heterogamous marriages can also be seen as an indirect indicator of the intensity of acculturative or assimilative tendencies in the Jewish population in Bohemia.

It is difficult to derive any clear findings from a comparison of the crude marriage rates in Bohemia and other lands of the Austrian Crown or later the Czechoslovak Republic because the likelihood that the number of documented Jewish marriages was underestimated is very great in some of the lands. The crude marriage rates in Table 6.1 show underestimated marriage rates in Galicia, Ruthenia, and probably even Lower Austria (including Vienna). The most reliable lands in terms of documented marriages appear to be Bohemia and Moravia. The effect of heterogamous marriages on the net Jewish marriage rate was similarly low in both Moravia and Bohemia before 1914, while in Lower Austria heterogamous marriages were more common. Conversely, in Galicia and Ruthenia heterogamous marriages were very rare at that time. Nuptial patterns differed significantly among the Jews in different lands of the Habsburg Monarchy. Although the inclination would be to say that Viennese Jews were much like their Bohemian and Moravian counterparts, they were in fact quite different. In Vienna it was possible to find very traditional Orthodox Jews of Galician descent (whose marriages probably went largely undocumented in official records) and at the opposite extreme a substantial number of Jews who converted to another faith, assimilated with the majority population, or entered a heterogamous marriage in order to improve their position in majority Christian society. Compared to Viennese Jews, the Jews of Bohemia in the early twentieth century were a much more homogeneous group with a low incidence of conversions, assimilation, and heterogamous marriages. The reasons for this can be sought in the fact that in Bohemia and in Prague less emphasis was placed on career advancement and on obtaining jobs that could not be secured without joining the ranks of the Christian majority. Such positions were moreover comparatively few in the Dual Monarchy's provincial areas. Another reason could be that anti-Semitism was not as strong in the Bohemian upper social strata or in society in general as it was in Vienna. Intensive heter-

ogamous marriage patterns existed at that time also among Jews in other countries such as Hungary and Germany.

Table 6.1: Crude marriage rates, Jews and the total population, selected lands, 1880–1930 (per thousand)

	1880 (a)		1890		1900		1910		1921		1930	
	Total	Jews	Total	Jews	Total	Jews	Total	Jews	Total	Jews	Total	Jews
Bohemia	8.0	6.9	7.3	6.2	8.3	7.2	7.5	8.4	12.8	10.5	9.7	6.0
Moravia (a)	7.9	8.0	7.2	7.2	8.0	6.6	7.3	5.4	11.9	9.1	9.3	7.2
Lower												
Austria	7.9	5.7	7.7	4.9	8.6	5.3	7.8	5.0	-	-	-	-
Galicia	8.7	1.9	8.3	2.7	8.7	4.8	6.8	6.4	-	-	-	-
Ruthenia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10.9	6.9	8.6	7.2

a) Data for Moravia and Silesia are combined in the years 1921 and 1930.

Note: Jewish marriages include only the homogamous ones in which both partners are of Jewish denomination.

Source: *Vital Statistics* 1881, 1890, 1900, 1910, 1921, 1930, Census 1880–1930, author's computation.

The nuptial behavior of Jews in Prague was one exception to the typically low marriage rate among the Jewish population in Bohemia. According to Heřman's data (1980, 59), Prague Jewish marriage rates were higher than that of the overall Jewish population, and from 1871 almost up until the 1920s, except for the war period, the rate remained steady at around 14 per thousand. The most likely explanation for this is that some Jews married in Prague but were not residents of the city. In the 1930s the crude marriage rate of Jews in Prague experienced the same decline as elsewhere in Bohemia.

Divorce

Austrian statistics began publishing data on divorces in 1884, and up until World War I divorce continued to be rare. There were never more than 35 divorces annually among the Jewish population of Bohemia. The number of divorces rose sharply after World War I, probably owing to an amendment to the legislation on divorce. There were two degrees of divorce: *divorce a mensa et thoro* (divorce from bed-and-board), where the spouses lived separately but remained married, and "dissolution," which meant divorce as it is defined in legislation today.

Data sources:

Austrian statistics published data on divorces of Jews in Bohemia for the years 1884–1915 in *Vital Statistics (Bewegung der Bevölkerung)*. Czechoslovak *Vital Statistics (Pohyb obyvateľstva)* published data on divorce separately for the individual lands within Czechoslovakia, including Bohemia, until 1927; from 1928 to 1937 they were published only for Czechoslovakia as a whole. From 1938 to 1940 divorce statistics by religion were published for the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. Until 1927 divorce statistics by religion were published separately for males and females. In the case of Jews this means that the number of divorcees differs by sex in relation to the number of divorced heterogamous marriages. Unfortunately, it is impossible to tell from these statistics how many of the divorces indicated therein were of endogamous Jewish marriages and how many were heterogamous ones. Czechoslovak statistics recognized four types of divorce: (1) uncontested divorce, (2) contested divorce, (3) dissolution, and (4) annulment. Given that the second and fourth types of divorce were rare, for the purpose of analysis here all the data were merged into one group of divorcees.

By 1927 the divorce ratio of Jews in Bohemia was already slightly above 27 divorces per 100 marriages, while in the total population the figure was 10 divorces per 100 marriages. The divorce ratio is not, however, a useful indicator, because it is sensitive to the changes in the number of marriages over time. The crude divorce rate for men and women rose to approximately 1.9 per thousand, which was twice as much as in the total population.

Divorce statistics published on the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia for the years 1938–1940 clearly reflect the insecurity and the critical situation the Jews were experiencing during this period. The data allow for distinguishing endogamous and heterogamous divorces² and reveal a sad consequence of the Nazi racial laws: while in 1838, out of 345 divorces in which at least one partner was a Jew 46% occurred in heterogamous marriages (159 divorces), in 1940 the figure was 84% out of almost double the number of divorces (out of 755 divorces 649 were heterogamous). Most of these heterogamous divorces were between a Jewish hus-

² Endogamous divorces are between partners of the same religious denomination. Heterogamous divorces are between partners with two different denominations.

band and gentile wife. Most likely those Jews and their non-Jewish spouses gave in to Nazi pressure and believed that they would be protecting their family or at least their property if they divorced. This turned out to be only a partially effective strategy. When a Jew remained married to a non-Jew he or she was to some extent sheltered from the racial persecution of the Jews. These Jews and their families lost their property and jobs, but they were not sent to Theresienstadt or other camps until the beginning of 1945, and in most cases they managed to survive until the camps were liberated. This also applied to children over the age of 14. Non-Jewish spouses were not sent to a concentration camp but rather to forced labor camps, where they often survived until the camps were liberated. However, in the 1940s no one could foresee the developments of the following years, hence the increase in the number of divorces.

Table 6.2: Number of divorces and crude divorce rate, Jews and the total population, Bohemia, 1919–1927

	1919	1921	1923	1925	1927
Number of divorces					
Jews males	46	106	112	128	143
Jews females	38	105	120	123	151
Crude divorce rate, per thousand					
Jews males	0.57	1.33	1.42	1.64	1.85
Jews females	0.47	1.32	1.52	1.57	1.95
Total population	0.71	1.18	0.99	0.94	0.95

Source: Vital Statistics 1919–1927, Census 1910, 1921, 1930, author's computations.

It is difficult to know what was behind the increase in the divorce rate of Czech Jews in the twentieth century before 1939 and why Jewish divorce figures were so much higher than among the majority population. Explanations can be sought in three areas. The first is legislation. After 1918 it became easier to get divorced. However, this was a factor that affected the total population and not just Jews. The second may have been the almost universal relaxation of traditional religious ties and to some extent the increased secularization of Jews in Bohemia. The third may be the fact that most Jews belonged to the urban middle or upper class during the interwar period, and it can be assumed that these social strata (in the total and the Jewish population) took a more liberal attitude towards divorce of an unhappy marriage than did rural, more traditionally oriented people. The fourth factor may have been that heterogamous marriages were less

stable. This would be hard to prove for the 1920s, but it emerges as a factor with sobering clarity in the data from 1938, when the Nazi occupation was not yet as oppressive as it was to become, yet the number/share of heterogamous divorces was relatively large.

Summary:

- If it is true that even during the first half of the nineteenth century marriage was universal among the Jewish population in Bohemia and that Jews married at a young age, the transition to late and non-universal marriage must have occurred very quickly between 1850 and 1870.
- All the data on marriages recorded and published in vital statistics before 1849 are inaccurate and underestimated.
- Up until World War I most marriages in the Jewish population were endogamous, and in this Bohemian Jews differed from Jews in Vienna, Budapest, Germany, and Italy.
- After World War I an increasing number of Jews in Bohemia entered into heterogamous marriages, and the number of such marriages peaked in 1936 (when 30% of all Jews who married took a non-Jew as a spouse, which means that 46% of all Jewish marriages were mixed).
- The increase in the number of heterogamous marriages is an indirect indicator of the intensity of the acculturation and assimilation of the Jewish population and had a direct impact on the number of children who were then raised as members of the Jewish faith.
- Between the two world wars the divorce rate of Jews in Bohemia was higher than that of the total population.
- The higher divorce rate can be explained by easier legislation, but also by the greater secularization of Jews, a departure from family and religious traditions, individualization, and changing value orientations. The social status of Jews as members of the urban middle and upper class probably also played a role.
- With the Nazi occupation of the Bohemian lands there was a sharp rise in the number of divorces among Jews and the majority of these divorces occurred in heterogamous marriages.

CHAPTER 7

Fertility

The fertility of the Jewish population around the turn of the twentieth century has been the subject of much study. The interest of many analyses has been the low fertility rate of Jews in the modern period, compared both to the non-Jewish population and to the high fertility that Jews likely had in pre-modern times (e.g., Ritterband 1981, Bachi 1976). In-depth research into this issue has thus far been encumbered by the shortage of applicable data. Most ideas about Jewish fertility in pre-modern times have been deduced from the demographic behavior of Eastern European Jews in the late nineteenth century, when their traditional way of life and reproductive patterns were only just beginning to change. It is not clear, however, whether this model of demographic behavior can be extrapolated to Jews in other periods and social and geographical contexts. I will question the idea that pre-modern Jewish fertility was high by using the case of the Jewish population in Bohemia. In this chapter I focus on four main tasks: (1) estimating Jewish fertility since the late eighteenth century; (2) describing and analyzing the timing and the pace of Jewish fertility transition throughout the nineteenth and at the beginning of the twentieth centuries; (3) discussing what triggered the fertility decline; and (4) comparing the fertility dynamics of Jews in Bohemia with the total population and with Jews in other lands.

Data sources:

Data on Jewish births in Bohemia are available from as early as 1785. They come from vital statistics registers based on data collected by local rabbis together with data on the numbers of marriages and deaths. Such data are available, with some interruptions, up until 1855. Between 1828 and 1855 they were published in the Austrian *Tafeln*. All data for the period before 1850 are, however, unreliable and heavily

underestimated. A possible explanation for this could be that local rabbis deliberately under-reported the number of children born to families without a Familiant number. I estimated crude birth rates adjusted for the effect of the birth underestimation. The estimates are presented further in this chapter and in Appendix 3. For the years between 1858 and 1894 official data on the births of Jews were not published in *Vital Statistics*. There are, however, estimates of the numbers in Heřman's unpublished study, which he based on figures contained in Jewish birth registers (for the method see Appendix 4). Vital statistics on Jews become available again from 1898 in *Vital Statistics (Bewegung der Bevölkerung)*. However, this publication contains no details beyond the total numbers of individual events. In the years 1895–1913 and 1919–1941, statistics on births by religion distinguished only vitality (still-birth/live birth) and “legitimacy” (marital/extramarital), and no data on the age structure of mothers or parity were available. Moreover, in the years 1903, 1905, 1906, 1908, 1909, 1911, and 1912, no data on Jewish births were published. Data for these missing years were estimated as linear interpolations of data from the two closest years for which data were published. Time series of vital statistics including births are available in Appendix 3. A life-time fertility of married Jewish women by five-year age groups is available from the 1930 census.

Jewish Fertility before 1849

The prevailing opinion is that the fertility of populations in the pre-modern era was high, constrained just by biological capacity and marriage intensity. Pre-modern populations were not ready and willing to limit their fertility. The Jewish population in general is not considered to have been exempt from this pattern. The main arguments for assuming high Jewish fertility are (1) the prevailing values and a religious tradition that considered a large family to be a blessing from God and very early marriage as desirable, and (2) the example of Jewish communities in Eastern Europe, in particular in the Pale of Settlement,¹ which in the late nineteenth century still maintained these traditional values and had very high fertility. The “real” level of fertility of Western European Jews in pre-modern times is not actually known

¹ This is the area within the former Russian Empire where Jews were allowed to live; it covered what is now eastern Poland, Belarus, Moldova, Lithuania, and Ukraine. Until the mid-nineteenth century most European Jews lived there.

and to date there have only been assumptions and fragmentary studies of individual Jewish communities. The available data from the last decades of the nineteenth century depict Western European Jewry in already a quite advanced stage of demographic transition. Livi-Bacci (1986) cited and analyzed fragmentary data on early Jewish fertility patterns, and his findings for eighteenth-century Italian towns such as Florence, Pitigliano, and Leghorn indicate that already at this time Jews in these towns had relatively low fertility. Similar conclusions on Italian Jews for that time draw DellaPergola (1997a). This indicates that not all Jewries necessarily had unlimited natural fertility in the early modern period.

My analysis of Jewish fertility in Bohemia points toward the same direction as the evidence from Italy: Jewish crude birth rates (CBR)² were lower than those of the total population already by the end of the eighteenth century. The question is by how much. Jewish fertility had to be high enough to allow a relatively high natural increase, higher than that of the total population (Chapter 4). Since the numbers of newborns registered before 1849 in the Vital Statistics could not result in such a high population growth, we have to find a way to correct these underregistered numbers. The only way to do so is to estimate the CBR. In order to estimate the “real” CBR (CBR Estimate), I took into account both the Jewish crude death rates and natural increase rates.³ The effect of net migration will be left aside for the moment. The Estimated CBR is calculated as the annual average crude birth rate (CBR) between 1785 and 1851. The level of the Estimated CBR in 1785 was obtained from the sum of the crude natural increase rate of the total population and Jewish crude death rate average of 1785–1786.⁴ The Estimated CBR in 1851 equals the CBR in that year and is calculated from the number of births in 1851 published in the *Tafeln* and the estimated total Jewish population.⁵

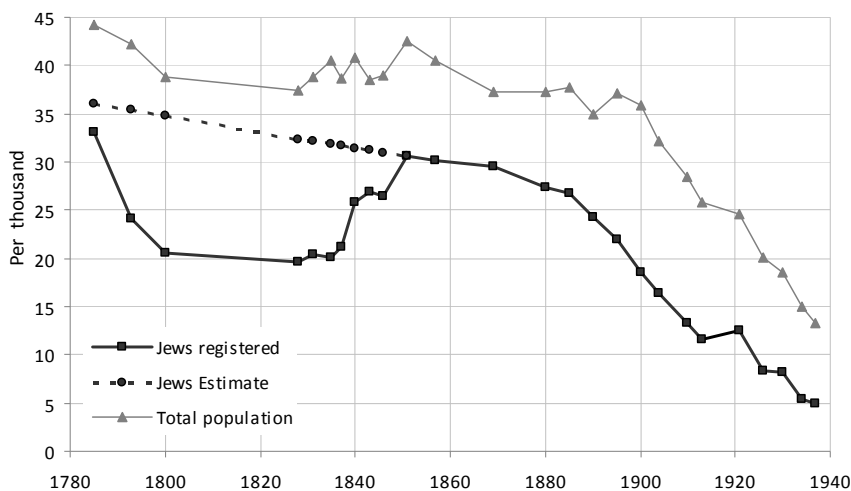
² CBR (crude birth rate) is defined as the total number of live births per thousand of the total population in a given year.

³ Crude death rate is defined as the total number of deaths per thousand of the total population in a given year. Crude natural increase rate is defined as the difference of the live births and deaths over a thousand of the total population in a given year.

⁴ The Estimated CBR for 1785 is therefore conditional upon two assumptions: first, population growth being similar to that of the total population. This assumption is derived from the findings on Jewish population growth (Chapter 4) that show that it was at least as high (or even higher) than the total population growth at that time. The second assumption is that the observed crude death rate of 1785–1786 is not underestimated.

⁵ The estimate of the total Jewish population was calculated as the annual average compound growth rate between 1793 and 1857 (the years for which we have reliable data; see Chapter 4).

Figure 7.1: Crude birth rate, Jews and the total population, registered and estimated values, 1785–1937



Note 1: Time series of births are in Appendix 3.

Note 2: Computation of the rates corresponding to “Jews Estimate” is explained in the text.

Source: Sekera (1978), *Vital Statistics* 1895–1937, Hefman (n.d), Censuses 1857–1930, author’s computations.

The CBR Estimate in the late eighteenth century was lower than the CBR of the total population by about one-fifth. This relative difference stayed about the same until the mid-nineteenth century. At the same time both Jewish and total populations’ CBR were decreasing, from 36 to 30 per thousand among Jews and from 44 to 41 per thousand among the total population (Figure 7.1). This low CBR Estimate for Bohemian Jews in that period is a little puzzling because if real, it would indicate that still very traditional Jewish households had to practice some reproduction regulation. How can we interpret this estimate and what are the likely factors that make it so low? The following hypotheses can be considered:

1) *A lower proportion of Jewish married women of reproductive age.* This could result in a lower CBR but it does not hold for the Jewish population before mid-nineteenth century. As seen in Chapter 6, Jewish women of reproductive age lived almost universally in marriage at that time, more so than gentile women.

2) *High population losses through emigration.* This appears a more plausible hypothesis. Assuming that the Jewish CBR was as high as that

of the total population and keeping constant the crude population increases and death rates used for the computation of the CBR Estimate, the Bohemian Jewish population would then have had to lose between 350 and 450 individuals through emigration yearly (about 1 % of its size), or about 25,000 individuals for the whole 1780s-1840s period. Although it is known that Jews emigrated from Bohemia in that period, it is improbable that they did so in such high numbers. Their most frequent destination at that time, Hungary, registered only several hundreds of Jews of Bohemian origin in the year 1848 (Mislovics, 2012). Even if we allowed for a significant underestimation of these Hungarian numbers, we cannot expect them to increase to tens of thousands. Thus, net migration losses can plausibly explain only a part of the low CBR estimate.

3) *Distortion by the CBR indicator.* This could be a valid argument if and when a fast decrease in mortality (in particular infant and old age) occurred. Even if fertility remained unchanged, the CBR would then decrease because the total population (the CBR denominator) would increase. This, however, could hold only for a short period of time, until the stronger cohorts of surviving infants reached reproductive age or if mortality would continue decreasing further at a fast pace. This was not the case among Jews in that period. Although the crude death rate was decreasing, it did so slowly.

4) *Nonparity-specific limitation of births.* It is known that some characteristics typical of Jewish customs, such as longer breastfeeding of infants or sexual abstinence on impure days, may have influenced women's fertility. But if this was part of a tradition, Jews must have always practiced it and thus must have always had a lower fertility in marriage than gentiles; otherwise this cannot be a valid argument.

5) *Intentional fertility limitation.* This is the last remaining potentially valid argument. It is, however, not easy to underpin this with tangible proofs and it is almost equally hard to find cultural, social, or attitudinal arguments that could provoke such behavioral changes before the mid-nineteenth century. Since we cannot reject this hypothesis, we have to retain it as a probable explanation of low Jewish CBR.

To conclude, the lower Jewish fertility combined with lower mortality compared to the total population was, in my view, a key feature of Jewish demographic behavior at least from the late eighteenth century until the twentieth century. It first led to faster population growth, and later to faster population ageing of the Jewish population. The CBR Estimate indicates that fertility decreased from at least 1785, when the data series starts, which means that Jews must have already adopted some form of birth

control by the end of the eighteenth century. Whether it was the spacing of births or the limiting of reproductive time spans of women is impossible to say with certainty; probably it was a combination of both. Until the 1850s this was a gross fertility decline that did not lead to a decrease in relative population growth because it occurred concurrently with a decline in mortality.

Freedom, Modernization, and the Decline in Fertility

The revolution of 1848 and the freedom it brought to the Jews in the Habsburg Monarchy signified a crucial turning point in the life strategies and opportunities open to them. This was particularly true in economically fast-growing areas such as Bohemia. The Jewish community, which had already been on a path of cultural and religious changes for a couple of decades, got an external boost for its transformation. Jews now had the chance to fulfill their aspirations that the legal restrictions had blocked. Their traditional virtues as traders, artisans, people with good networks, and above-average literacy helped get them an equal status in the liberalizing and increasingly capitalist Habsburg Monarchy.

At the same time Jewish fertility registered an accelerating decline. The CBR in 1851 was still about 31 newborns per thousand Jews but the ensuing decades brought a steady and, after 1880, a steep decrease in the CBR. In 1895 the Jewish CBR was 22 per thousand (which was equal to 2,060 Jewish births) and in the 1930s, the number of Jewish births fell to fewer than 600 live births per year, which equals a CBR of 8 births per thousand Jews.⁶ In contrast, the crude birth rate of the total population remained relatively high throughout the second half of the nineteenth century with only a slow decrease. In 1900 it was still as many as 35 births per thousand inhabitants. A faster decrease occurred from the first third of the twentieth century and it reached 20 per thousand in 1926 (Figure 7.1 and Appendix 3).

Compared to Jews in the other Austrian Crown lands around the turn of the twentieth century, Jews in Bohemia had the lowest CBR (Table 7.1). Compared to them, Bohemian Jews in the late nineteenth century were a very homogeneous, relatively secular, urban, middle- and upper-

⁶ In the interwar period crude birth rates began to be distorted by the irregularity of the age structure, making this indicator of little informational value and not suited for comparisons.

class population. Bohemia never witnessed large migration inflows of Jews from other countries and had virtually no Orthodox Jews. Viennese Jewry was far more heterogeneous in this respect due to the huge migration in-flow of Jews from the other parts of the Habsburg Monarchy, including Orthodox Jews from Galicia and Bukovina. However, in all the Crown lands Jews had lower fertility and a faster fertility decline than the majority population.

Table 7.1: Jewish fertility, selected lands of the Austrian Crown and Prussia, 1895–1910

Year	Bohemia	Lower Austria	Moravia	Galicia	Prussia
Crude birth rate, per thousand					
1900	18.5	21.1	20.9	39.1	19.9
1910	13.3	14.5	13.6	32.4	15.9
Share of Jews from a thousand of live-borns in the lands					
1895	9.2	35.4	11.8	106.1	-
1900	7.6	33.0	10.1	95.7	-
1910	5.8	30.5	6.6	89.5	-

Source: Thon (1908), *Vital Statistics* 1895–1910, Census 1900 and 1910, author's computations.

The interwar decrease in the number of Jewish births in Bohemia was partly caused by the growing proportion of heterogamous marriages between Jews and non-Jews, a phenomenon that was very rare in Bohemia before World War I. In particular, children born to a Jewish father and a non-Jewish mother could not be registered as Jews “by birth” according to the Jewish religious tradition; they could only convert later in life. It is very likely that children born to Jewish mothers were not automatically registered as members of the Jewish denomination either, because the woman’s partner or his church may have disapproved. For example, a Jewish partner could marry a Catholic only if they agreed to raise their children in the Catholic faith. Since in the 1930s mixed Jewish marriages accounted for more than forty percent of all marriages involving at least one Jewish partner (almost equally distributed between men and women, Chapter 6), the religious disaffiliation of children born in mixed marriages most likely led to a considerable number of potentially Jewish newborns not registered as such. I assume that it had to be more than one-half of the children born to mixed marriages. This is based on the assumption that at least half of the children were born to a Jewish father, and that from the other half born to a Jewish mother some children were not registered as

members of the Jewish faith for the above-mentioned reasons.⁷ By that time Jewish acculturation into the majority Czech society was strong (Čapková 2001, 2012) and secularization well advanced. In 1934 just 409 Jewish births were documented, whereas immediately before World War I in 1913 the figure was 982. Later, after 1938, under the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, the number of documented live-born Jewish children fell dramatically, with only 102 Jewish births in 1939 and 63 in 1940. This decrease obviously reflects the very insecure position Jews were in during this tumultuous period, an inauspicious time to have children and to register those born as Jewish.

An Analysis of Structural Changes in Jewish Fertility in Bohemia and the International Context

As its name indicates, the CBR is a crude indicator that allows us to observe only the change in the overall volume of fertility, but not the changes to its structure by parity and the age of mothers. Another drawback to the CBR is that it is sensitive to the changes in the age structure and is unsuitable for making comparisons of populations with different age structures. Another indicator, one also distorted by age structure effects, but nonetheless capable of providing a more accurate picture of the birth rate, is the number of live births per thousand married women of reproductive age (f^m). This indicator was calculated here for the period 1895–1898 and for 1930. In 1890s there was an average of 163 live births per thousand married Jewish women in Bohemia and was already then about one quarter less compared to the level among married women of the total population. General fertility of married Jewish women decreased further to reach just 53 births per thousand women in 1930 (Table 7.2).

The structural factors of that decline can be illustrated well using a set of interrelated demographic indices developed by Coale (1969). In particular, they reveal the interplay between fertility and nuptiality. These indicators have a number of advantages for historical studies of fertility: (1) the equation using these indicators takes into account the maximum amount of data typically available for historical populations from vital statistics and censuses: birth by legitimacy and age distributions by marital status (Knodel 1974); (2) they allow for international comparisons; and (3) they are relatively easy to interpret. The Coale fertility indices are used

⁷ DellaPergola (1989) reached the same conclusion in his study of children from mixed Jewish marriages in the world in the 1970s and the 1980s.

here to track the fertility decline of Jews in Bohemia in comparison with other populations of Central Europe. They include the index of overall fertility (I_f), the index of marital fertility (I_g), and the index of the proportion of married among women of childbearing age (I_m). Their respective formulas are presented in Appendix 6. Here they are briefly explained (according to Knodel [1974, 33–35]):

The index of overall fertility (I_f) measures the extent to which women in a given population approach the number of births they would have if all were subject to the highest schedule of age-specific fertility on reliable record (standard schedule): the fertility of married Hutterite women in 1921–1930.⁸

Table 7.2: General marital fertility rate of women aged 21–50, Jews and the total population, 1895–1898 and 1930

1895–1898			1930		
Jews	Total population		Jews	Total population	
Live births per thousand women of reproductive age (f ^m)					
Average live-born 1895–98	1,928	190,389	Live-born 1930	613	114,079
Married women aged 21–50	11,794	839,362	Married women aged 15–49	11,587	1,138,025
f ^m per thousand	163	227	f ^m per thousand	53	100

Note 1: The number of married women aged 21–50 in 1895–1898 was estimated from the intercensal balance of Jews, out of which the number of married women was estimated based on their proportion in the 1890 census.

Note 2: Reproductive age defined as 21–50 in 1895–1898, and 15–49 in 1930.

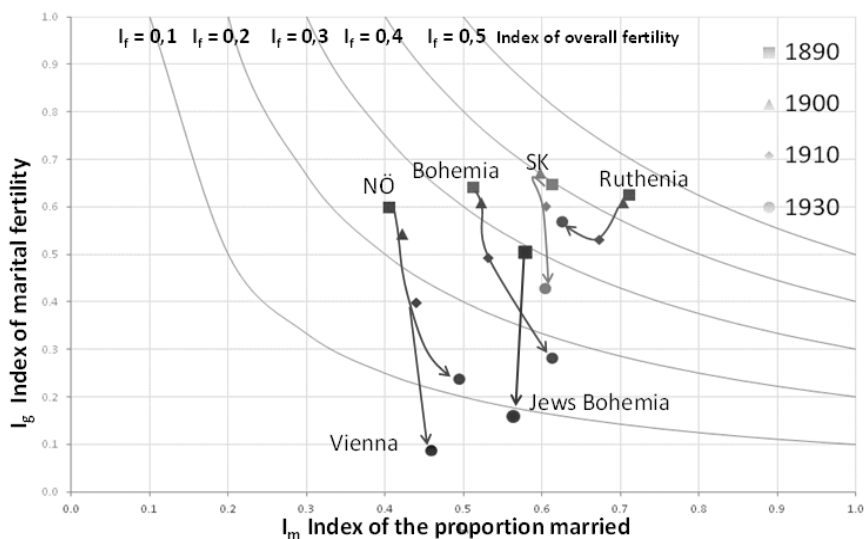
Source: Census 1890 and 1930, *Vital Statistics* 1895–1930, author's calculations.

The index of marital fertility (I_g) indicates how close the number of actual births is to the number there would be if all married women experienced Hutterite fertility.

The index of the proportion of married among women of childbearing age (I_m) compares the number of children a married woman would bear if she experienced the Hutterites' marital fertility rates to the number of children all women would bear if subject to the same fertility schedule. This is an index of the extent to which the distribution of marital status contributes to the attainment of maximal fertility in a population in which all births were to married women.

⁸ Their standard schedule of fertility is given by Henry (1961, 84).

Figure 7.2: Reproductive performance of women, Coale indices, selected lands in Central Europe, 1890–1930



Note 1: NÖ: Lower Austria; SK: Slovakia; Ruthenia; Jews B: Jews of Bohemia.

Note 2: Vienna was administratively a part of Lower Austria before World War I, so no separate data are available.

Note 3: Coale indices are explained and their values displayed in Appendix 6.

Source: Coale and Watkins (1986), Šprocha and Tišliar (2008); author's computations for Bohemia.

The resulting indices for Jews in Bohemia show that the single most important factor contributing to the fertility decline in the Jewish population was a decrease in marital fertility rates (Jews B in Figure 7.2). The number of Jewish children born to married women in 1890 is half ($I_g = 50.5\%$) the possible maximum marital fertility. In 1930 this indicator falls sharply to just 16%. The contribution of the share of married to the fertility achievement I_m did not change significantly between 1890 and 1930 and was about 40% below the maximum. The index of overall fertility I_g of Jews declined by 20% over the course of 40 years and by 1930 was just 9% of the maximum fertility of women of reproductive age. The I_g , I_f , and I_m have been calculated for many historical populations in Europe thanks to the European Fertility Project.⁹ Here we compare the fertility indicators of Jews in Bohemia with those of the total population in selected Central

⁹ More on the project and the database of Coale fertility indicators produced in the project is available at <http://opr.princeton.edu/archive/pefp/> (last accessed June 26, 2012).

European lands, specifically Slovakia (SK), Ruthenia, Lower Austria (NÖ), and Vienna (Figure 7.2). The marital fertility of Jews in Bohemia was already quite low in 1890, whereas all the other populations had comparable and still relatively high marital fertility levels and differed more by the shares of married women. Until 1930, however, Lower Austria, Vienna in particular, and Bohemia experienced a very rapid decline in overall fertility. In Slovakia the decline started between the two world wars and in Ruthenia was not yet very apparent in 1930. From all the populations compared, Bohemian Jews had the lowest overall fertility index I_g in 1930 together with the Jewish population of Vienna.

Table 7.3: Year in which the crude births rate first dropped below 35 per thousand and 20 per thousand among the Jewish and total populations

Country	35 per thousand			20 per thousand		
	Jews	Total population	Years lag	Jews	Total population	Years lag
Bohemia	1797 (a)	1890	93	1897	1926	29
Italy	1700	1895	195	1885	1950	65
Prussia	1855	1905	50	1895	1923	28
Hungary	1895	1911	16	1915	1955	40
Russia/USSR	1900	1939	39	1930	1963	33
Romania	1900	1932	32	1925	1959	34
Poland	1910	1925	15	1930	1961	31

a) Own estimate of fertility levels, described in the text.

Sources: Adapted from Della Pergola (1989, 162, tab. 4), author's computations for Bohemia.

Because of the lack of data required to compute some of the Coale indices, the same comparisons could not be made with Jewish populations in other countries. However, we can compare the CBR of Bohemian and other European Jews and the timing of its decrease to below the critical level of 35 and 20 per thousand, respectively. A CBR that reaches and remains below the level of 35 per thousand can be considered a sign of the beginning of fertility control, and below 20 can be considered to be roughly the level where the fertility transition is completed. In comparison with the Jews in Italy, Prussia, Hungary, Russia, Romania, and Poland (data cited from DellaPergola 1989) the CBR of Bohemian Jews was one of the first to decrease. Together with the CBR of the Italian Jews, it had already fallen below 35 per thousand before 1800, six decades before Prussian Jews and about a hundred years before Jews in Hungary, Russia, Romania, and Poland (Table 7.3). The CBR of Jews fell to below 20 per thou-

sand in the last two decades of the nineteenth century in Italy, Bohemia, and Prussia. Although the timing of the transition varied considerably between Jewries in different countries, it occurred earlier at both levels than in the respective total population in every country.

Table 7.4: Fertility of married women by age, number of children in the current marriage, Jews and the total population in the Czechoslovak lands, 1930

Country	Average number of children	Children born to women in their current marriage (%)						
		0	1	2	3	4	5+	unreported
Total population								
Bohemia	2.54	17.6	22.5	20.3	12.7	8.1	17.3	1.5
Jews								
Bohemia	1.74	22.5	26.3	25.7	11.0	5.3	6.5	2.7
Moravia and Silesia	1.97	21.1	23.0	25.2	12.8	6.5	9.0	2.4
Slovakia	3.00	18.5	17.4	17.5	11.8	8.7	24.4	1.8
Ruthenia	4.29	13.3	11.3	11.9	10.3	9.6	42.0	1.7

Source: Census 1930, author's computations.

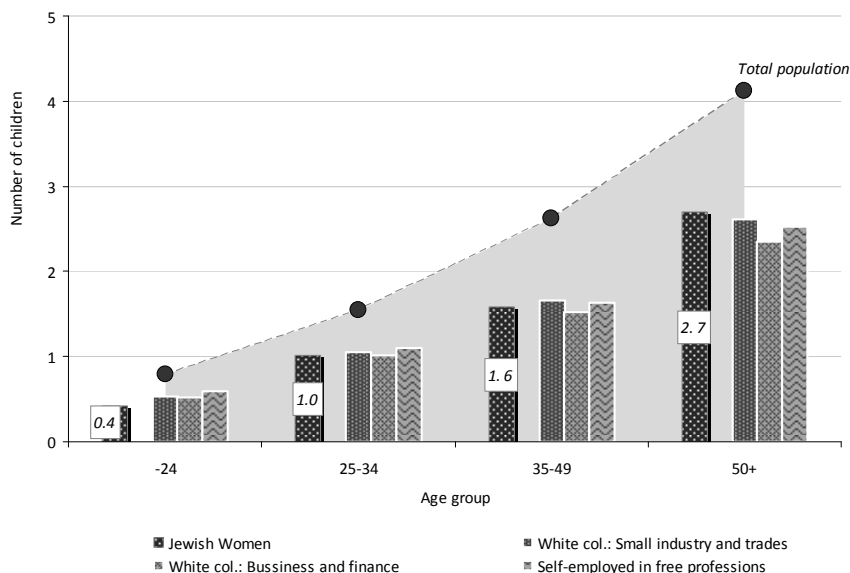
Structural insight into the fertility decline of Bohemian Jews can only be obtained from the 1930 census data on life-time fertility of married women. Compared to the total population, Jewish women in 1930 were more often childless in their marriage: by around 5% on the whole and in the younger age groups by more than 15%. About 37% of married Jewish women aged 25–29 were childless, compared to just 23% of women of the same age in the total population. More than one-half (53%) of married Jewish women aged 35–39 had no or one child, while the figure was 37% for women in the total population. However, the biggest differences were in the share of women with three or more children. Almost 25% of all married women aged 30–34 had three or more children, while among Jewish women the figure was less than 7%. Altogether, women with three or more children made up 12% of all Jewish married women between the ages 20 and 49 but 29 % among married women in the total population. We know from the previous analysis that Jewish women were already limiting their fertility very strongly in 1890. In 1930 the women who had been giving birth around 1890 were approximately 60–69 years old. Among the Jewish married women of that age only 26% had five or more children. It was eighteen percentage points less than among married women of the same age in the total

population. Even the oldest registered cohorts of married women in the 1930 census (aged 70–79) had fewer children of the 5+ parity. That shows that a parity fertility limitation was practiced by at least some Jewish women giving birth between 1870 and 1890. Unfortunately, data on life-time fertility as of 1930 are too late to give us any insight into the fertility of women who had children before the 1870s, so the structural changes in fertility at the onset of the fertility transition among Jews remain unclear owing to the lack of data.

Were Jews the Sole Avant-garde in the Fertility Decline in Bohemia?

Jews were definitely the forerunners in the fertility decline and conscious fertility control, compared to the total population. But were there any sub-groups in the total population with a comparably early fertility transition? And did they share any similar socio-economic or other characteristics with Jews? There certainly were such groups in the general population, but it is very difficult to identify them. Vital statistics and censuses typically lack any details for distinguishing such groups. The only exception was the 1930 census, which published data on life-time fertility of married women by social group combined with occupation. They can be compared with the life-time fertility of Jewish women. The comparison shows that fertility patterns were similar among married Jewish women and women married to white-collar household heads, especially those employed in small trades and industry and in business and finance. Families of self-employed persons in the services sector and the free professions also had a similar fertility structure (Figure 7.3). The similarity between these groups is not too surprising: all of them could be ranked as middle-class families in which the household head often had higher education and were mostly living in urban areas. It should be noted also that most Jewish women belonged to these socio-occupational categories anyway, so to a certain extent this is comparing like with like. However, given the small number of Jews in these categories this tautology is not particularly significant. This comparison shows that the low fertility of Jews was not unique and that in 1930 the social category to which most Jews belonged had equally low fertility. It is hard to say whether these groups had similar demographic behavior even earlier without data to support such a statement. Nevertheless, it seems that, at least between the two world wars, the Jewish demographic avant-garde blended into an “upper class” avant-garde.

Figure 7.3: Mean number of children born live to women in their current marriage by age, Jews and the total population by sector of employment and occupational status, Bohemia 1930



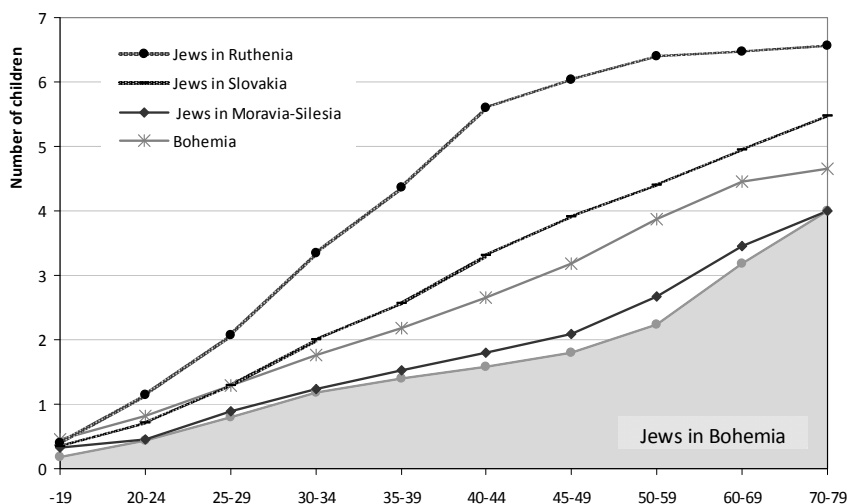
Source: Census 1930, author's computations.

Three Different Jewish Fertility Patterns in Interwar Czechoslovakia

Using life-time marital fertility data from the 1930 census it is possible to compare the reproductive behavior of the Jews in the four lands of then-Czechoslovakia (Bohemia, Moravia–Silesia, Slovakia, and Ruthenia). Three basic types of reproductive behavior emerge from this comparison. The first is the “limited fertility” type, in which fertility is concentrated within a relatively short period of a woman’s reproductive life, usually producing one or two children. This model matches the reproductive behavior of Jewish women in Bohemia and Moravia-Silesia. Some differences between the two are apparent in third- and higher-order births, at which point Bohemian Jews exhibit more restricted fertility than Moravian-Silesian Jews (Figure 7.4). The second type is represented by Jewish fertility in Slovakia, which was much higher than the fertility of Bohemian Jews but obviously restricted. Slovak Jews had a much larger share of women with four or more children. I assume that the reproductive behavior of Slovak Jewish

women in 1930 was not very uniform. On the one hand, some Jewish women in Slovakia, especially in rural eastern areas, still followed the traditional reproductive model of more births more evenly distributed across a woman's reproductive life; on the other hand, many others already deliberately limited their fertility. The fertility of Slovak Jewish women recorded in 1930 was captured at the point of their transition from the traditional to the modern pattern of reproductive behavior.

Figure 7.4: Married women by age and average number of children, Jews in the Czechoslovak lands and the total population in Bohemia, 1930



Source: Census 1930, author's computations.

An inverse type of reproductive behavior to the first one was that of Jewish women in Ruthenia. They had a lower incidence of childlessness and women's fertility began at a relatively young age and was high. Among married Jewish women aged 30–34 in Ruthenia 47% had four or more children; in Bohemia the figure was just 2%, in Moravia 2%, and in Slovakia 17%. In the 1930s Ruthenian Jews were just at the very start of the fertility transition. However, as in all the other aforementioned lands, the fertility of Jewish women in Ruthenia was still lower than that of women in the total population.¹⁰

¹⁰ The CBR of Jews in Ruthenia in 1930 was 38.7‰; in the total population it was 48.0‰.

Regional Differentiation of Jewish Fertility in Bohemia

A comparison of crude rates indicates that the fertility of Jews in Prague before 1870 was similar to that of Jews in the whole country, but during the 1870s it declined faster than in the total Jewish population.¹¹ Subsequently, starting in the 1890s, the crude fertility rate of Prague Jews and that of Bohemian Jews grew closer again (Table 7.5). Between 1896 and 1900 the difference in the crude fertility rates of Jews in Prague and in Bohemia was on average 3.3 per thousand, while between 1906 and 1910 the difference was just 1.8 per thousand, and from around 1930 there was no longer any difference. The 1870s and 1880s were evidently a kind of transitional phase, when the fertility of the Jews in Prague was already low, while in the rest of the country Jews more slowly adopted the new patterns of reproductive behavior.¹² By contrast, in the total population the difference between the CBR in Prague and the population in the country as a whole grew or remained stable between 1890 and 1930.

Table 7.5: Crude birth rate in Bohemia and Prague, Jews and the total population, 1869–1930

Crude birth rate, per thousand				
Years	Jews in Prague	Jews in Bohemia	Total pop. in Prague	Total pop. in Bohemia
1869	30.4	29.5	-	37.2
1880	20.4	27.3	-	37.2
1891–1895	21.0	22.0(b)	36.6	37.2(b)
1896–1900	17.6	20.9	33.5	36.1
1901–1905	14.5	17.6	28.2	34.0
1906–1910	12.4	14.2	24.2	30.6
1926–1930	8.5(a)	8.2	13.9(a)	18.7

(a) Data are available only for a part of the years indicated, (b) data are only for the year 1894.

Source: Heřman (1980), Heřman, (n.d.), *Vital Statistics* 1895–1930, Census 1890–1930, author's computations.

¹¹ Based on the data published by Heřman (n.d.).

¹² It is difficult to capture the regional differentiation of the fertility of the Jewish population within Bohemia. Although Austrian statistics between 1894 and 1913 published data on births by religion for individual political districts, a regional analysis cannot be properly conducted because the number of recorded births of Jews in districts is small.

Extramarital Births and Stillbirths among Jews

The number of extramarital births among Jews in general and among Bohemian Jews in particular was very small. Before World War I, there were around forty extramarital births a year or approximately 2% of the total number of live births in the Bohemian Jewish population.¹³ After World War I the number of extramarital births remained almost unchanged until the middle of the 1930s, when the average number rose to 4.6% between 1934 and 1937. In the total population the share of extramarital births was high at around 12% throughout the period between 1895 and 1937 owing to the specific tradition of some ethnic Germans to marry only after a child was born.

The rate of stillbirths in the Jewish population was surprisingly high compared to the majority population. Across the fluctuations in this rate between 1895 and 1937 there is no sign of a decreasing trend, something that can be observed in the total population. The explanation may be that the documentation of stillbirths varied between the Jewish and the majority Christian population. Christians had a special interest in ensuring an infant was baptized before it was declared dead, whereas this religious concern did not exist among the Jews. It is likely that some of the babies that Jews considered stillborn were declared to be neonatal deaths after baptism by Christians.

Table 7.6: Share of extramarital births and stillbirths, Jews and the total population, Bohemia, 1895–1937 (%)

Average for the years	Non-marrital N ^v / Total N ^v		N ^d / N ^v	
	Jews	Total	Jews	Total
1895–1899	2.1	14.7	4.1	3.4
1900–1904	2.2	12.6	2.5	3.2
1919–1923	1.9	12.7	2.8	1.9
1924–1928	2.0	11.0	4.1	2.1
1929–1933	2.0	13.1	3.0	1.6
1934–1937	4.6	11.9	3.5	1.5

Note: N^v live births, N^d still births.

Source: *Vital Statistics* 1895–1937.

¹³ A figure of 2.2% for the number of extramarital births on average for the period between 1860 and 1870 is also given by Schrimmer (1873).

Summary:

- The Jewish population in Bohemia had a lower crude birth rate (CBR) than the total population from at least the last third of the eighteenth century.
- The CBR of Jews had declined to below 35 per thousand already in the 1790s and remained above 30 per thousand until the 1850s. These rates rank Bohemian Jews among the subpopulations that experienced the earliest onset of fertility decline in Europe.
- Despite lower fertility, Jews in Bohemia maintained a higher natural increase than that of the total population until the mid-nineteenth century. This was the result of the better mortality conditions of Jews and particularly their infants. Until the mid-nineteenth century the Jewish population was characterized by gross fertility decline, when both fertility and mortality declined simultaneously and proportionately so that the natural increase could be maintained. Net migration during this period was probably negative and was definitely not a factor in increasing Jewish population growth.
- Jews in Bohemia had to be practicing some form of fertility control even before the mid-nineteenth century. It is hard to determine what forms of fertility control they used. I assume that longer intervals between births and perhaps also stopping reproduction earlier were the most common forms. Starting to have children later is a less likely strategy given the higher proportion of Jews who married compared to the total population at that time (Chapter 5).
- The gradual decline in the CBR accelerated from 1880, dropping from 27 per thousand to 13 per thousand in 1910. The onset of this accelerated decline began with women born in the 1840s, 1850s, and 1860s. The oldest of these three generations already had a non-universal marriage pattern and entered marriage later than their peers in the total population (Chapter 5). It can be expected that the low fertility of these generations was already due to all three factors of a later start, longer intervals, and an earlier stop to childbearing.
- Both phases of fertility decline, the first moderate but steady phase from at least the late eighteenth century and the accelerated phase from the 1880s, happened at a time when substantial societal changes were influencing the traditional way of life of Jews, their legal status in society, and their social and economic opportunities. The first phase coincided with the reforms of Joseph II, of which the secularization of Jewish elementary schooling was the most important, and later with

the Jewish reform movement Haskalah, which resonated among a substantial number of Jewish elites in Bohemia in the late eighteenth century, and with the reforms of Joseph II, of which the secularization of Jewish elementary schooling was the most important. The second phase came after the abolition of legal restrictions against the Jews in 1849. Jews became *de iure* equal citizens in the multinational Austrian Monarchy, which was experiencing strong economic growth and in which Jews could move freely and take up any professions they wanted, opportunities that did not exist before 1849. The ideational changes in the Jewish community (induced by Haskalah and the Josephine reforms) and external socio-economic and political changes (after 1848) were definitely influencing Jewish reproductive behaviour.

- The accelerated decrease in fertility occurred first among Jews in Prague, but from the 1890s regional differences grew smaller towards a universally low fertility rate among Jews in Bohemia as a whole.
- Immigration was not a factor in Jewish population growth in Bohemia; on the contrary, the size of the Jewish community in Bohemia decreased through emigration, which mainly involved young people of reproductive age. This led not only to direct population losses but also to indirect ones, as the children that would have been born to these emigrants in Bohemia were born elsewhere instead.
- For Jews throughout the nineteenth century, the improving human capital of their children and their upward social mobility were probably important objectives. The Jewish population saw a rapid rise in their social status and their educational enrolment and attainment during that time (Part 3). In the few decades between the 1850s and the 1900s the majority of Bohemian Jews in the most economically advanced regions in the country moved into the middle and upper middle class.
- In 1930 married Jewish women had an average of 1.7 children compared to 2.5 in the total population. Similarly low fertility was generally observed among those social and occupational groups to which most Jews themselves belonged, in particular white-collar workers in industry, trade, and finance, the self-employed in the services sector, and individuals in the free professions.
- After 1918 Jews increasingly began to marry non-Jews and a large number of children born into these heterogamous marriages were not registered as Jews at birth (Chapter 6). This reflected the progressive acculturation of Jews in Bohemia and resulted in a further decrease in Jewish birth cohorts.

CHAPTER 8

Mortality and Causes of Death

High mortality and high fertility was a reproduction mix that held population growth close to zero in the past. Most children did not survive into adulthood due to a lack of adequate care or harsh external conditions. Thus turned the wheel of high fertility and mortality regime for many centuries. There is little reliable evidence of what Jewish mortality patterns were like before the end of the eighteenth century. In 1787, Giuseppe Toaldo, a professor at the University of Padua, published a series of life tables comparing urban, rural, and mountain populations, and friars, nuns, and Jews in the Venetian state. He discovered that whereas “only” one-fifth of Jewish newborns died in the first year of life, among gentiles in mountain parishes the figure was more than two-fifths. He also found that the life expectancy of adult Jews was higher than that of friars and nuns (Toaldo’s findings are cited from Derosas 2003, 111). Other studies revealed that mortality crises caused by such epidemics as plague and cholera were more prevalent among Catholics than Jews. Derosas (2003, 110) cites studies stating that “in the disastrous plague of 1630–31, around one-third of the inhabitants of the city of Venice died, whereas the proportion of Venetian Jews was about 1 out of 7, although one would expect that the population density of the Ghetto surely should have increased exposure to contagion.” Similar observations were found in connection with the cholera epidemics of the mid-nineteenth century in Venice. There is a large body of evidence of lower infant mortality among the Jews than the majority populations dating back to the beginning of the nineteenth century. A study by Schmelz (1971) gathered evidence from all continents for the years between 1819 and the 1960s and found that Jewish infant and childhood mortality was in every period and context lower than that of the majority population. Derosas (2003) compared the mortality conditions of inhabitants of two poor Catholic parishes in Venice with the equally poor

inhabitants of the Venetian Ghetto between 1850 and 1869. In conformity with previous studies he found that Jews had much lower infant mortality than Christians. In this particular case, the share of newborns that died before their first birthday was 32% in the poor Christian parishes, but 14% in the equally poor Jewish Ghetto. After further analysis of possible explanatory factors, Derosas (2003) came to the conclusion that the Jewish advantage “does not result from favourable social conditions or from better coping with climatic harshness or from better management of intense fertility” (122). Jewish mortality conditions were better despite Jews being exposed to similar external factors as Christians, so there had to be some cultural, religious, and behavioral factors that determined the Jewish mortality advantage. So what were they? Based on evidence provided by various scholars (Derosas 2003, Schmeltz 1971, DellaPergola 1997a, and 1997b), the following four factors can be identified as significant for the lower Jewish mortality:

Religious dictums led to a behavior that had positive health repercussions, and included rules about personal hygiene, such as washing hands before and after meals, ritual baths, and forbidding sexual intercourse on “impure days.” Strict dietary laws required food being handled in a special way, forbidding the consumption of rotten food, shellfish and pork.

Lifestyle refers to traditional Jewish behavior that was only indirectly related to Judaism; this included the near nonexistence of alcoholism and the lower prevalence of venereal diseases among Jews (Schmeltz 1971), and strong Jewish domestic values and duties, such as the fair use of the man’s income for the needs of his family instead of spending much of it on drinking or other private habits (Derosas 2003).

Childcare seemed to be more intensive among Jews than among Christians. In general Jewish women breastfed longer, and this was a very important factor for improving the chances of a child’s survival during the first six months of life. Some studies have also pointed out that Jewish mothers were more concerned about the health and wellbeing of their children—for example, seeking out a doctor if their children were ill and following the doctor’s advice (Goldstein et al. 1994).

Welfare institutions had been well established and widespread in Jewish communities in Europe ever since the Middle Ages. They provided financial and other forms of assistance, clothing, food, education, work, and medical care to the poorest members of the community. In Prague, one of the most important and oldest institution was the chevra kadischa (burial society), which saw to the last needs of the deceased, but also took care of the ill, poor, and widowed. The chevra kadischa fulfilled a

laudable function and comprised of the most prominent members of Jewish community were its members. Derosas (2003) observed that poor Jews in the Venetian Ghetto were in a much better position than their Catholic counterparts thanks to the Jewish social organizations and institutional welfare. Jews also had better access to doctors and were more trustful of “medical” care (Bachi 1976).

In this chapter I will describe the mortality conditions of Jews from the late eighteenth century, and their repercussions for population growth in Bohemia. Where the data permit I will analyze the structure of mortality by age and calculate Jewish life expectancy.

Data sources:

Data on Jewish deaths are available for Bohemia from as early as 1785. They come from vital statistics registers and were collected and published together with data on the number of marriages and births. Data collected this way are available, with some breaks, until 1855 (the biggest gap is between 1815 and 1827). Between 1828 and 1855 the data on the number of deaths were published in the Austrian *Tafeln*. All data for the period before 1850 should be viewed with caution. In my view they are underestimated, because if they were accurate the mortality levels they indicate would have been the lowest in Europe at that time. Moreover, such low levels would not correspond to the interplay of mortality and realistic fertility that resulted in the population growth observed. The possible reason for the low number of registered deaths was that local rabbis registered less systematically Jews from families without a Familiant number.

Between 1859 and 1895 data on mortality by religion were not published in official statistics. A publication by Schrimmer from 1873 contains data on the number of deaths by sex and age group of Jews in the Austrian Crown lands as the average for the years between 1861 and 1870 (Schrimmer 1873). The publication does not state clearly where these data originated, so they should be interpreted with caution. Heřman (n.d) estimated the numbers of deaths in the Jewish population in Bohemia for the period 1858–1894 (see Appendix 4 for a description of the estimation method and Appendix 3 for the data). Austrian *Vital Statistics* began publishing data on deaths by sex and religion in the Crown lands in 1895. *Czechoslovak Vital Statistics* continued to publish such data between 1919 and 1937. In addition, it published these numbers

cross tabulated with age. However, it is difficult to analyze these data because the age categories used vary across the interwar period.

Data on causes of death in the Jewish population in Bohemia sorted by sex are available only between 1925 and 1927. Before World War I only suicides were cross tabulated by religion and by Crown land. After 1927 the cause of death of Jews was only published among data for Czechoslovakia as a whole.

Mortality and its Key Role in Jewish Population Growth before 1849

As the Jewish population grew quickly from the second half of the eighteenth century (Chapter 4) and the fertility rate was relatively low already in 1785 (Chapter 7), the only way in which the Jewish population could have grown is through low mortality levels or high in-migration. Since the latter was virtually impossible before 1849, the first must be the key factor of growth. The mortality figures recorded in official publications are very low and produce a crude death rate (CDR) that never rises above 20 per thousand throughout the period between 1800 and 1850 (Figure 8.1). In my view, these data are too low and must be a result of under-registration of death. I estimated a more realistic crude death rate for the period between 1794 and 1851. If population size by the end of year n , P^n is:

$$P^n = P^{n-1} + B^n - D^n$$

where P^{n-1} is the population size by the end of year $n-1$, B^n is the number of births in the year n , and D^n is the number of deaths in the year n . The effect of net migration on the population size is omitted here. The estimated number of deaths in the year n in our case is:

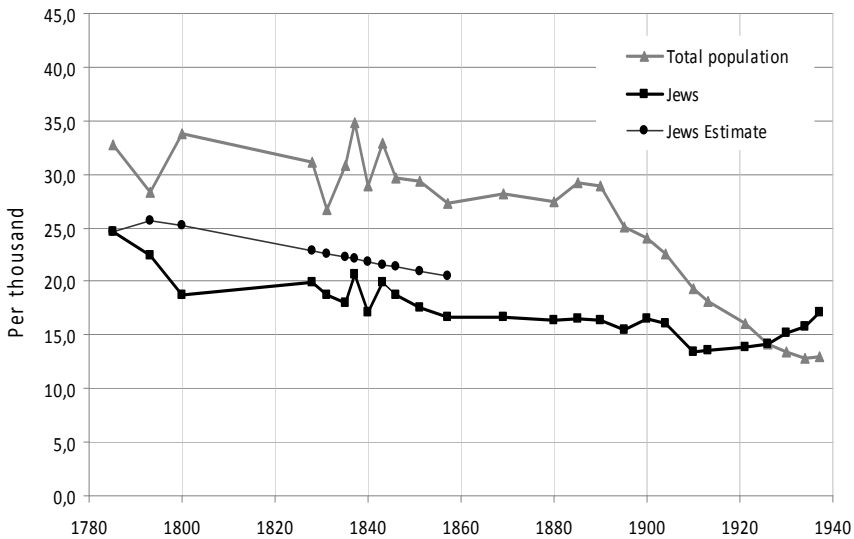
$$D^{n \text{ estim}} = P^{n-1} - P^n + B^{n \text{ estim}}$$

where $B^{n \text{ estim}}$ is the estimated number of birth in the year n as defined in the Chapter 7 (values are in Appendix 3), then

$$CDR^{n \text{ estim}} = (D^{n \text{ estim}} / P^n) * 1000.^1$$

¹ The figure for 1785 is a CDR.

Figure 8.1: Crude death rate of the Jewish and the total population and estimated crude death rate of Jews, 1785–1937



Note 1: Time series of deaths are in Appendix 3.

Note 2: Computation of the rates corresponding to “Jews Estimate” is explained in the text.

Source: Sekera (1978), *Vital Statistics* 1895–1937, Heřman (n.d.), Censuses 1857–1930, author’s computations.

The estimated CDR^{estim} for the period 1794–1851 ranges between 25 and 20 deaths per thousand Jews (Figure 8.1). However, the CDR^{estim} for 1851 is higher than the reliable recorded data for that year, which indicates that the crude death rate had to decrease earlier than what is indicated by the CDR^{estim} . It is hard to estimate more precisely the mortality decline because the CDR of the total population, which could be a guideline for the general trend in the Jewish mortality, fluctuated considerably in the first half of the nineteenth century. However, it is probably safe to conclude that in the first half of the nineteenth century the CDR of Jews was slightly above 20 per thousand, and that combined with a CBR of slightly above 30 births per thousand was a key factor behind the rapid growth of the Jewish population.

Jewish Mortality in Bohemia in Comparative Perspective

Reliable register data since 1850 indicate that the CDR of Jews declined to below 15 per thousand by 1900 and reached a low of 13.5 per thousand before World War I. After 1918 the crude death rates are so distorted by the irregular age structure that they are no longer suitable for comparison or any other meaningful measurement of mortality conditions. The mortality rate of Jews and the total population for that period can be better compared using standardization techniques that make it possible to control for differences in the age structure between populations. Age-standardized CDR (ASCD¹) was calculated for the year 1930 and the age structure of the total population in Bohemia was taken as the standard.² The ASCD shows that the Jewish mortality in that period was still considerably lower than that of the total population (a difference of 2 per thousand for both men and women).

Table 8.1: Age-standardized and observed crude death rates by sex, Jews and the total population in Bohemia, 1930

	Crude death rate, per thousand	
	Males	Females
Age standardised: Jews	12.4	10.8
Observed: Jews	15.8	14.6
Observed: Total population	14.3	12.7

Source: Census 1930, *Vital Statistics* 1930, author's computations.

For almost the entire second half of the nineteenth century the gap between the CDR of the Jewish and the total population did not close owing to the persistently high mortality rates in the total population, which did not go below 25 per thousand until 1900. The mortality of the total population lagged behind Jewish mortality for approximately 120 years.

A comparison of Jewish mortality rates across the Austrian Crown lands at the turn of the twentieth century reveals that the mortality conditions of Bohemian Jews were similar to those of Moravian Jews but worse than Jews in Vienna. Galician Jews had the highest CDR in this comparison (Table 8.2). Although the onset of the mortality decline among Jews varied between countries by many decades, it nevertheless always preceded the onset of the mortality decline in the total population (Table 8.3). The onset of the mortality decline among Jews in Bohemia occurred very

² More details on the calculation method are provided in Appendix 8 and the numbers of deaths by age are given in Appendix 10.

early, not only compared to the total population but also to Jewries in other countries. The CDR of Jews in Bohemia was well below 30 per thousand already in the 1780s, making them, alongside Italian Jews, the avant-garde in mortality decline among European Jews.

Table 8.2: Crude death rate in selected lands of the Austrian Crown, Jews and the total population, 1899–1901

	Crude death rate, per thousand	
	Jews	Total population
Bohemia	15.8	24.1
Moravia	15.5	25.0
Lower Austria (incl. Vienna)	13.3	22.2
Galicja	19.7	27.2

Note: CDR is computed as the average number of deaths 1899–1901 over the total population as of 1900.

Source: Census 1900, *Vital Statistics* 1899–1901, author's calculations.

Table 8.3: Year when the crude death rates first fell below 30 per thousand and 15 per thousand among the Jewish and total populations

Country	30 per thousand			15 per thousand		
	Jews	Total	Years lag	Jews	Total	Years lag
Bohemia	<1785	1846	60+	1905	1925	20
Italy	1750	1870	120	1905	1930	25
Prussia	<1820	1820	80 (a)	1890	1912	22
Hungary	1873 (b)	1895	22	1905	1935	30
Russia/USSR	1868	1910	42	1905	1945	40
Romania	1875	1880	5	1920	1948	28
Poland	1882 (c)	1895	13	1910 (c)	1933	23

a) DellaPergola's estimate based on the actual observation of a 60-year lag for a death rate level of 21.5 per thousand.

b) Budapest.

c) Galicja.

Sources: Adapted from DellaPergola (1989, 161, tab. 3), author's calculations for Bohemia.

Differences in Mortality between Jews in Prague and Bohemia as a Whole

Mortality differences existed not only between but also within the countries. The data for Bohemia indicate that mortality conditions were better in rural areas (here meaning everywhere outside the city of Prague) than

in Prague until the 1880s for both Jews and the total population (Heřman 1980, Hrubý 1981). After the 1880s the mortality of both Jews and gentiles was lower in Prague than in the rest of the country. The mortality of Jews in Bohemia as a whole was about half that of Prague in the 1850s (Table 8.4). By that time, however, the gates of the Prague ghetto were open and Jews were moving into wealthier and healthier neighborhoods. By 1869, 60% of Prague Jews were living outside the ghetto, but they still had a one-third higher CDR than Bohemian Jews.³ Three observations can be drawn from this fact. First, the mortality of both Jews and gentiles must have been negatively affected by the living conditions of the city, its congestion and poorer hygienic conditions. Second, even in the less favorable living conditions of Prague the CDR of Jews was lower than that of gentiles in the city. Third, the fact that the majority of Bohemian Jews lived in rural areas until at least the 1860s also contributed to the mortality advantage of Jews, and this was most likely the case also before 1848. The specific characteristics of Jewish traditions and lifestyle that contributed to the lower mortality of Jews, as mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, had a higher impact in rural than in urban environments. This was the case until the hygienic conditions in towns began to improve in the 1880s.

The Structure of Jewish Mortality

A closer look at the structural characteristics of mortality reveals the main source of the Jewish mortality advantage. The decomposition of mortality by age is only available for the 1860s, the 1920s, and the 1930s. The earliest of the three age decompositions was published by Schrimmer (1873) as averages for the years 1861–1870. The data show that the deaths of children under the age of five made up a smaller share of total deaths in the Jewish population, at 40%, than in the total population in Bohemia, where it was 49%. Since the Jewish and total populations had comparable age structures, this difference can be attributed to the better mortality conditions of children in the Jewish population. This supports similar findings in other national contexts (Derosas 2003). Further data on mortality by age are available only between the two world wars when the Jewish population had already gone through the demographic transition and had a

³ I assume that the age structure of Prague Jews and that of all Jews in Bohemia were about the same. I therefore leave aside the possibility that the differences in the CDR could be due to differences in the age structure.

contracting age structure and ageing population. In 1919–1920, infant and child mortality up to the age of five accounted for just 6.5% of Jewish deaths while the figure in the total population was 22.1%. This big difference is due not just to the better mortality conditions of Jewish children, but also to the smaller share of children within the Jewish population.

Table 8.4: Crude death rate of Jews and the total population in Bohemia and Prague, 1835–1930

Years / average of years	Crude death rate, per thousand			
	Jews Bohemia	Jews Prague	Total Bohemia	Total Prague
1791–1794	22.4/ 25.7 * (a)	28.6	28.3	49.1
1835	18.0 / 22.2*	34.0 (b)	30.3	37.3 (b)
1857–1858	16.6	32	27.3	-
1866–1870	16.8	24.9	27.6	-
1880–1881	16.5	18.5	28.3	28.2
1890–1891	15.6	14.7	28.0	23.4
1896–1900	15.9	13.5	24.3	20.3
1901–1905	15.2 (a)	12.7	23.1	19
1906–1913	13.8 (a)	11.5 (a)	19.9	15.9 (a)
1921–1925	14.1	11.4 (a)	14.9	16.0 (a)
1926–1930	14.9	12.7 (a)	14.3	10.7 (a)

* Based on registered data / based on author's estimates.

a) Available data cover only a part of the indicated years.

b) Average for 1830–1833.

Source: Sekera (1978), *Vital Statistics* 1895–1937, Census 1890–1930, Schrimmer (1873), Heřman (1980, 63, tab. 8), Heřman (n.d.), author's computations.

Table 8.5: Infant mortality rate, Jews and the total population, 1919–1937

Average for the year	Infant mortality rate, per thousand	
	Jews	Total population
1919–1923	63.1	153.4
1924–1928	49.3	139.3
1929–1933	43.6	120.1
1934–1937	51.9	107.2

Source: *Vital Statistics* 1919–1937, author's computations.

The infant mortality rate⁴ of Jews between the two world wars was as much as three times lower than that of the total population (Table 8.5).

⁴ Infant mortality rate is defined as the number of deaths of infants under the age of one within a given year per thousand live births in that year.

But infant mortality rates were not uniform across the total population. A comparison of infant mortality by the socio-occupational category of the head of a household reveals substantial differences between groups. The lowest infant mortality rate was in the families of white-collar workers (Table 8.6), but even among them, in 1931, the infant mortality rate was still 7 points per thousand higher than in the Jewish population.

Table 8.6: Infant mortality rate of Jews and of the total population by socio-occupational category, 1931, per thousand

Jews Bohemia	Total population Bohemian lands			
	Total	Independents	Blue-collar workers	White-collar workers
43.6	112.1	105.3	119.9	50.9

Note: Jews in Bohemia: average from the years 1929–1933; Total population of Czech lands in 1931.
Source: *Vital Statistics* 1929–1933, Vávra (1962).

Knowledge of the age structure of Jews in 1930 and age-specific death rates can be used to construct life tables and compute life expectancy. The indicator of life expectancy tells us how many years are remaining in the life of a person aged “x” assuming that there is no change in the existing mortality conditions. I computed the life tables by sex for Jews in Bohemia in 1930 and compared them to the life tables of the total population of Bohemian lands by sex (the Jewish life tables and methodology are presented in Appendix 9).

Table 8.7: Life expectancy (e_x) by age and sex, Jews in Bohemia and the total population in the Bohemian lands, 1930

At the exact age	Life expectancy in 1930			
	Jews		Total population	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
0	60.6	65.2	54.2	58.0
1	63.0	66.7	61.0	63.7
5	59.5	63.7	58.8	61.5
15	50.8	54.4	50.0	52.8
25	41.9	45.3	41.7	44.4
40	28.8	32.0	29.3	31.8
50	21.0	24.0	21.6	23.6
65	12.0	14.0	11.8	12.6

Source: Census 1930, *Vital Statistics* 1928–1930, historical life tables for the Czech lands from 1930, Czech Statistical Office, author’s computations.

Life expectancy at birth (e_0) is higher for Jewish men and women than in the total population. Among Jewish women life expectancy at birth was 65 years, which was seven years higher than the life expectancy of women in the Czech population (Table 8.7). Among Jewish men, life expectancy was 61, which was again seven years higher than that of Czech men in the total population. These differences in life expectancy were influenced most by mortality conditions in infancy. With increasing age the difference in life expectancy decreased. Around the ages of 40 and 50 life expectancy was even slightly higher among men in the majority population than among Jewish men. Among women, Jewish life expectancy was higher at every age.

Causes of Death

The mortality differences between Jews and the general population had to be reflected also in cause-of-death differences. Although Jews and gentiles were generally exposed to the same external conditions (e.g., weather, public hygiene, water quality, epidemics), it is recognized that Jews were more effective at combating the potentially fatal consequences of these conditions than gentiles (Derosas 2003, Schmelz 1971). The Jewish mortality advantage was the result of lower mortality from avoidable diseases. Although scarce, available data on the causes of death of Bohemian Jews support this claim.

The only period in which the full range of causes of death was cross tabulated with religion in Bohemia was between 1925 and 1927.⁵ These data show that Jews had much lower mortality from infectious diseases, including tuberculosis (2.5 times lower than the total population), diseases of the digestive system, epidemic and endemic diseases, and respiratory diseases. By contrast, mortality from diseases of the circulatory system was higher among the Jews and was the cause of one in four Jewish deaths but only one in seven deaths in the total population. Deaths from cancer and diseases of the nervous system and sensory organs were also higher among the Jews. At the end of the 1920s mortality rates were generally higher among the Jews, which reflected their older age structure. The lower mortality from infectious diseases and higher mortality from cancer and diseases of the circulatory system are signs of the Jewish popu-

⁵ Before 1918 the only cause of death that was cross tabulated by religion in the *Vital Statistics* was suicide (from 1907). The number of suicides grew overall from the late nineteenth century, and this generated an interest in subjecting it to closer structural analysis. Between 1908 and 1927 the number of suicides among Jews in Bohemia fluctuated between 20 and 35 annually, which, when converted to 100,000 inhabitants, was not significantly different from the suicide intensity of the total population.

lation's better hygiene, social conditions, and access to medical care and also reflect its older age structure, when death from cancer and diseases of the circulatory system are more common. There is no information available on the causes of deaths of infants in Bohemia. The only rough indicators are from Vienna before World War I (Thon 1908). An analysis of these data shows that infant mortality among the Jews in Vienna was lower in almost every category of disease common in childhood (measles, whooping cough, diphtheria, acute bronchitis, diarrhea, enteritis, congenital defects, and failure to thrive).

Table 8.8: Mortality by cause of death, Jews and the total population, Bohemia, 1925–1927

Average from 1925–1927 Selected causes of death	Per 100 000 inhabitants		Per thousand deaths	
	Jews	Total	Jews	Total
Epidemic and endemic diseases	27	45	19	31
Infectious diseases	83	187	57	130
of which tuberculosis	66	154	-	-
All other diseases	262	154	180	107
of which cancer	176	128	-	-
Diseases of the nervous system and sensory organs	170	146	117	101
Diseases of the circulatory system	370	212	254	147
Respiratory diseases (including pneumonia)	138	187	95	130
Digestive diseases	66	128	45	89
Puerperal disorders	8	9	5	7
Old age	149	162	102	112
Suicide	41	34	28	24
Other	143	177	98	123
Total	1,459	1,442	1,000	1,000

Note 1: The rates have as their denominator the sum of the population for the period 1925–1927 derived from linear interpolation between 1921–1930.

Note 2: Owing to the small number of cases among Jews the data were aggregated by sex and only more numerous causes of death are displayed.

Source: *Vital Statistics* 1927–1930, Census 1921 and 1930, author's computations.

Summary:

- The early mortality decrease among the Jews caused rapid growth of the Jewish population between the end of the eighteenth and the mid-nineteenth century in Bohemia. The transition from high to low mortality occurred in the total population many decades later. This head start became the source of the Jews' relative advantage in population growth despite their lower fertility rates.
- Jews were the forerunners in the mortality decline in every national context where measured. The difference was in the timing of its onset and the length of the head start they had on the local general population in this change.
- The mortality decline of Jews in Bohemia was already under way in the eighteenth century. It was early not only compared to the total population in Bohemia but also compared to other European Jewries. The early decline can be explained by all the "virtues" of the Jewish religious tradition, lifestyle, childcare, and social institutions. Another factor that could have contributed to it specifically in Bohemia was that Jews primarily lived in rural areas, where they could benefit from a healthier environment (water, hygienic conditions) compared to the congested urban ghettos. Jews also enjoyed a certain socio-political stability during this period; the Familiant Law and the numerus clausus put official limits on Jewish numbers, but also offered some protection.
- The mortality conditions of Jews in Prague were worse than those of Jews outside Prague up until the 1880s. After that, the trend reversed and the mortality conditions of both Jews and the total population were better in Prague than in rural areas.
- Low infant mortality was a key factor behind the low Jewish death rates. This mortality advantage probably already existed as early as the eighteenth century and lasted until the 1930s.
- In 1930 Jewish life expectancy at birth was 61 years for men and 65 years for women, which was seven years more than the life expectancy of men and women in the total population in Bohemian lands.
- Between the world wars Jews in Bohemia had much lower mortality, especially from treatable diseases (including tuberculosis and childhood diseases) and sexually transmitted diseases, than the total population. On the other hand, Jews had higher mortality from diseases associated with advanced age, such as cardiovascular diseases, cancer, and diseases of the nervous system and sensory organs.

CHAPTER 9

Natural Population Increase, Migration, Religious Disaffiliation, and Acculturation

The dynamic component of demographic events and the static component of population stocks are the data that make up the picture of population change. The former consists of events usually reported yearly: births, deaths, and in- and out-migration. When studying demographic changes affecting a religious minority, it is also necessary to include religious conversions into and out of the respective religion. The static component consists of population size and structure, usually measured in censuses. Assuming we have absolutely accurate data on both population dynamics and stocks, the population count at time $x+1$ would perfectly match the count at time x plus the population dynamics during the intercensal period between x and $x+1$. Reality is usually very far from this ideal, but the interplay between stocks, the known components of population dynamics, and other sources can help to fill in some of the gaps in an incomplete demographic mosaic. That is the focus of this chapter. The preceding chapters reviewed the available sources on population dynamics, and here is a brief recapitulation:

- There is reliable information on population stocks from censuses conducted between the 1780s and 1930.
- There is unreliable information on fertility and mortality before 1848, but reliable data on both events between 1848 and 1937.
- There is no information on in-and out-migration.
- There is almost no information on conversions to and from the Jewish faith.

This chapter will begin with an analysis of natural increase and then proceed to estimate figures on migration and religious conversion and show how these two processes contributed to population growth.

Data sources:

This chapter is based on vital statistics for the period 1857–1937. Earlier data (before 1849) are unreliable and are better left out of the population growth analysis. I also use data from all the population censuses conducted between 1857 and 1930. Detailed references to these data sources are provided in Appendices 1 and 2. The data on religious conversions are drawn from secondary sources, such as Čapková (2012) and Staudacher (2010). I refer here to “religious conversions” when a person moves from one religion to another, or becomes without religion by a legal act. I use the term “religious disaffiliation” when it happens that people become secularized (step out from a religious community) or just do not practice, or maybe they do not qualify for some reason. The last applies well to the children of mixed marriages.

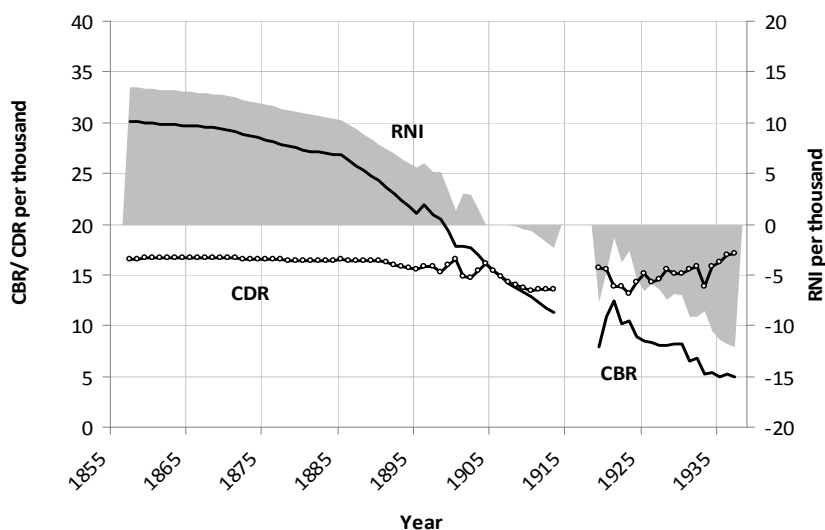
Natural increase and population change balance

Natural increase, expressed as the difference between the number of live births and the number of deaths in a given year, was positive among Jews until the turn of the twentieth century. In the second half of the nineteenth century the rate of natural increase (RNI), the difference between the crude birth rate and the crude death rate in a given year, went from 13.5 per thousand in 1857 (1,168 people surplus) to 7.9 per thousand in 1890, and reached zero in 1904. Since 1905 the number of yearly deaths was higher than the number of live births and the Jewish natural increase rate became negative. It descended to –12.1 per thousand (–924 individuals) in 1937 (see Figure 9.1).

However, when compared to the total Jewish population growth between the censuses, it was already negative after 1890. This means that despite the still positive natural increase other factors (net migration or religious conversion) negatively influenced Jewish population growth. The effect of net migration and religious conversion can be estimated by calculating the balance between total population change and natural increase based on census and vital statistics data (the vital statistics method, Table 9.1).¹

¹ The vital statistics method consists of calculating the difference between total population change, as assessed from two censuses, and natural increase during the intercensal period.

Figure 9.1: Crude birth rate (CBR), crude death rate (CDR), and the rate of natural increase (RNI), Jews in Bohemia, 1857-1937



Note: The time series of births, deaths, and population counts are in Appendix 3.

Sources: Censuses 1857–1930, *Vital Statistics* 1895–1937, Heřman (n.d.), author's computations.

The balance between intercensal and natural growth is negative for all the intercensal periods between 1857 and 1910. This means that total population growth between the censuses was lower than the natural increase in the same period. The largest net loss was between 1857 and 1869, when the balance shows a deficit of 9,871 Jews; total intercensal Jewish population growth was just 3,103, but the natural increase was 12,974 (Table 9.1). In the following intercensal decades until 1910 the net losses were always greater than 6,000 individuals. This negative balance indicates that a combination of migration and conversions was significantly reshaping Jewish population growth and causing its decline. Overall, between 1857 and 1910, the net population loss was more than 40,000 Jews in Bohemia.

The balance between intercensal and natural growth can also be calculated for other Austrian Crown lands for the intercensal period 1890–1900 (Appendix 11). In that decade the Jewish population had an excess of birth over death of 186,352 persons in the whole Crown lands. The 1900 census, however, indicated just 81,594 Jews more than in 1890. The balance between natural and intercensal growth thus shows a difference of

104,758, which is equal to a deficit of 9.2% of the number of Jews as of 1890. Relative Jewish population losses in the Crown lands as a whole were thus higher than in Bohemia alone at that period. Most of these losses were due to migration, since the largest losses were from Galician Jews, who at that time very rarely left the Jewish faith (Appendix 11).

Table 9.1: Balance between intercensal and natural growth, Jews in Bohemia, 1857–1930

	Natural increase	Intercensal growth	Balance between Intercensal and Natural growth
1857–1869	12,974*	3,103	-9,871
1869–1880	11,154*	4,910	-6,244
1880–1890	8,629*	30	-8,599
1890–1900	6,234*	-1,734	-7,968
1900–1910	551	-6,947	-7,498
1910–1920	unknown	-6,021	unknown
1921–1930	-4,138	-3,476	662

* Natural increase is based on estimated numbers of births and deaths from Heřman (manuscript).

Note 1: Vital statistics used in the computation always start with the year following the census (since the censuses were organised in December), e.g., into the balance between 1857 and 1869 enter the data on births and deaths from the years 1858–1869. The exception is the year 1921 when data from that year were included in the period 1921–1930 because the census of 1921 took place in February.

Note 2: Vital statistics data from 1903, 1905, 1906, 1908, and 1909 were not published and a linear interpolation from the closest available years is used here to estimate the missing data.

Note 3: *Vital Statistics* for the period 1914–1918 are not available and it is impossible to estimate them because of extreme demographic changes in births and deaths during the war.

Source: *Vital Statistics* 1858–1930, Censuses 1857, 1869, 1880, 1890, 1900, 1910, 1921, 1930, Heřman (n.d.), author's computations.

The Role of Net Migration and Religious Disaffiliation in Jewish Population Dynamics between 1849 and 1918

Both net migration and religious conversions and disaffiliations shaped the growth and structure of the Jewish population considerably from the second half of the nineteenth century. They did so, however, with differing intensity and in different periods. Conversions out of Judaism seem to have been rare in Bohemia before World War I. According to Čapková (2005, 67), 450 Jews in Prague left the Jewish faith during the decade between 1898 and 1907, and Staudacher (2010) estimated there were at least 500 converts in Prague before 1914. This is indeed a small figure given that at the time there were around 20,000 Jews in Prague. Stau-

dacher (2010) also discovered that many Jews who were born in Bohemia or Moravia converted in Vienna, estimating there were 1,100 Jewish converts before 1868 and around 2,000 between 1868 and 1914—figures that accounted for one-quarter of all Jewish converts in Vienna.

Migration was a crucial factor in Jewish population dynamics before World War I. I would go so far as to claim that the negative balance between intercensal and natural growth in that period could be accounted for by net migration losses. This would mean a direct total net migration loss of 40,180 Jews between 1857 and 1910. Emigration was probably age-specific and for the most part probably involved young, economically active adults. This caused a decrease in the size of the cohorts of reproductive age and indirectly a drop in the number of births. It is interesting to compare this estimate of Jewish emigrants from Bohemia with a figure put forth by Rauchberg (1905). He estimated the migration flow of Jews from Bohemia and Moravia to Vienna and claimed that 28,151 Jews residing in Vienna in 1900 were born in Bohemia or Moravia.² Our estimate gives a migration loss of 22,811 Jews from Bohemia alone between 1869 and 1900. Since some of the migrants in Rauchberg's estimate came to Vienna before 1869 and some of them came from Moravia, it seems plausible that many of the Jewish emigrants from Bohemia between 1869 and 1900 made Vienna their new home. Unfortunately, there are no solid data with which to determine the direction of Jewish migration from Bohemia. Austrian statistics on emigration between 1858 and 1903 contain data on people "released from the Austrian state union" ("entlassen aus dem österreichischen Staatsverband"), but these statistics document only those individuals who officially gave up their Austrian state citizenship. In the whole of the Austrian Crown lands only 4,527 Jews were thus "released" in the decade between 1891 and 1900, and that certainly represents just a very small fraction of the real number of Jewish emigrants.

In addition to the somewhat scanty Austrian records on emigration out of Austria there are also the records of destination countries. The most

² Rauchberg (1905, cited from Lepař, 1925, 34) writes: "In 1900, among the 146,926 Jews dwelling in Vienna, 28,151 of them, that is, almost one-fifth of the Jews in Vienna, were from Bohemia and Moravia. If these emigrants are added to the number of Jews counted in Bohemia and Moravia in 1900 (92,745 + 44,255 = 137,000), we get a figure of 165,151 souls; if this number is compared to the number of Jews in 1869 (89,933 + 42,899 = 132,832), there appears an increase of 32,319 = 24.3%, almost the same as the increase in the population in Bohemia and Moravia during the same period (22.5%). The increase in Jews must be reduced slightly given the fact that in 1869 some Bohemian and Moravian Jews were already residing in Vienna, and they would have to be deducted."

important destination for migrants around the turn of the century was the United States, which published the Annual Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration in the United States. It recorded immigrants by country of origin and ethnicity, but not by religion. Anyone who indicated Yiddish as their mother tongue was deemed to be Jewish. But most Jews from Western and Central European countries, including Jews from Bohemia, did not speak Yiddish and were not documented as Jews in these statistics. Bohemian Jews probably indicated German or possibly Czech as their mother tongue. Another problem with the American statistics is that only Austria-Hungary as a whole was recorded as a country of origin. Consequently, immigrants from Austria-Hungary who were recorded as Jews were probably mainly from Galicia, Bukovina, and Slovakia.³ Emigration from the Habsburg Monarchy to the United States, like from other European countries at the turn of the twentieth century, was very high (Table 9.2). Between 1898 and 1903 the number of Bohemians, Moravians, and Germans who emigrated from Austria-Hungary to the United States increased fivefold. By 1903 the number of Bohemian and Moravian emigrants had reached 9,600 a year and the number of Germans 23,600. It is very likely that Jews from Bohemia were among these individuals. A relatively large share of women figured among the German, Jewish, and Bohemian migrants from Austria-Hungary to the United States in 1898–1903 (39.5%, 42.6%, and 43.5%, respectively), figures suggesting the migration of entire families. This is supported by the fact that a large share of the migrants documented in US records were listed as having no profession, a status that usually refers to women and children.

Records from European ports indicate that 99,987 citizens of the Austrian Crown lands left for an overseas destination in 1903, the majority of them (89.2%) migrating to the United States, 8.8% to Canada, and 1.1% to Argentina. In 1906 alone 1.1 million people immigrated to the United States from all over the world, of whom 154,000 were documented as Jews, and more than 80% of them were from Russia. The number of Jewish immigrants would probably have been higher had they been documented according to religion. Approximately 70% of all Jewish immigrants to the United States at the turn of the twentieth century made New York their new home. At that time there were no restrictions on immigra-

³ Not all of them would have been documented as Jewish because they were not used to declaring Yiddish as their mother tongue as Yiddish was not an official language within the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. These immigrants would have stated German or some other language to be their mother tongue.

Table 9.2: Emigrants from Austria-Hungary to the United States by mother tongue, 1898–1903

Ethnicity of those who left Austria– Hungary for the USA	Numbers in the year:					Share from the total emigrants to the USA (%):				
	1898/99	1899/00	1900/01	1901/02	1902/03	1898/99	1899/00	1900/01	1901/02	1902/03
Czechs and Moravians	2,382	3,056	3,766	5,589	9,577	3.8	2.7	3.3	3.2	4.6
Germans	4,313	6,901	7,816	16,249	23,597	6.9	6	6.9	9.4	11.5
Slovaks	15,757	29,183	29,243	36,931	34,410	25.2	25.4	25.8	21.5	16.7
Jews	11,701	16,920	13,006	12,848	18,759	17.7	14.7	11.5	7.5	9.1
Others	28,278	58,787	59,559	100,372	119,668	46.4	51.2	52.5	58.4	58.1
Total	62,431	114,847	113,390	171,989	206,011	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Note 1: Ethnicity was determined according to the mother tongue.

Note 2: Registers by the US fiscal year that ended June 30.

Source: Thon (1908, 60)

tion to the United States. People could be refused entry on grounds of poverty or visible illness, but this affected only 1% of migrants. The European destination to which Jews from the Austrian Crown lands emigrated most was Germany. According to a German census from 1900, there were 17,410 Jews from the Austrian Crown lands living in Germany.

The Changing Role of Net Migration and Religious Disaffiliation between the Two World Wars, 1918–1941

Between the wars the demographic situation of Jews and the geopolitical situation they lived in changed profoundly. Between 1910 and 1921 the Jewish population in Bohemia shrank by 6,021 people, or 7% of its size in 1910, most likely as a result of direct and indirect losses due to war (deaths caused by the war combined with negative natural increase). After the war the multinational Habsburg Monarchy dissolved; Vienna was no longer its capital, so its appeal was diminished. The lands of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia, Slovakia and Ruthenia were united to form a new state. The largest overseas migration destination, the United States, began imposing strict immigration quotas in 1921 and these were further toughened in 1924.⁴ By that time, the Jewish population in Bohemia was an ageing, urbanized population, and Jews were equal members of the multi-ethnic society in the new Czechoslovak Republic. It was no longer as easy to migrate, for instance, to Vienna or to other parts of the former Monarchy. There was probably also less desire among Bohemian Jews to do so, because their economic and social circumstances in Czechoslovakia were stable and relatively favorable. By the 1920s and 1930s Jewish population dynamics in Bohemia were shaped less by migration and more by religious disaffiliation.

Between 1921 and 1930 the balance between intercensal and natural growth (in Bohemia) was positive, despite a negative intercensal natural increase (Table 9.1). The negative natural increase must therefore have been offset by Jewish migration or religious conversions. Since it is unlikely that conversions to Judaism were net positive, migration must have been the reason. The net migration of around 600 Jews in Bohemia may

⁴ In the United States at that time the prevailing political and general opinion was that the “national purity” of American citizens should be protected. The quota of immigrants from Czechoslovakia was set at 3,000 per year.

have been due to immigration from abroad, but was more likely the result of immigration from other parts of Czechoslovakia. For the first time since the eighteenth century Bohemia became a country of Jewish migration gains (Table 9.1 and Appendix 11).

Religious conversion, disaffiliation, and the process of acculturation played crucial roles in Jewish population growth between the two world wars. It is difficult to measure this in numbers, though there are many indicators, demographic and otherwise, that show these processes were occurring. The two most obvious signs are mixed marriages and a decline in the number of Jewish children registered in the Jewish faith. The two are interconnected and have a direct impact on natural increase and the sustainability of Jewish population growth. Between 1919 and 1937, 6,049 Jewish men and women entered a mixed marriage, of which 3,216 were Jewish men. In conformity with Jewish ordinary law their children were not Jewish because the mother was not Jewish. It is plausible that many of the children born to mixed marriages were not raised in the Jewish faith. DellaPergola (1989) studied many modern Jewries around the world after World War II and found that “less than half the children of mixed marriages are raised as Jews.” I believe that this may also have applied to Bohemian Jews in the 1920s and 1930s. The consequences of this for Jewish demographic development in Bohemia were fewer Jewish children, faster population decrease, and population ageing.

Direct information on religious conversion and disaffiliation in the Jewish community is sparse. The only data I found for the interwar period concern the conversions of the Jewish population in Prague between 1934 and 1938 (Heřman n.d.).⁵ The data indicate that 1,125 Jews in Prague left the faith in the five-year period between 1934 and 1938, and most of them (816) became non-denominational. The biggest number of departures from the faith occurred in 1938 (384 people). By contrast, over the same five years 214 people in Prague converted to Judaism, 125 of whom previously belonged to no religious denomination. Leaving aside the very critical year 1938, when the Sudetenland in Bohemia was already occupied by the Nazis (following the Munich Agreement on 30 September), the average number of conversions from Judaism each year between 1934 and 1937 was just 185, which is not much given that Prague’s Jewish population numbered over 35,000. Religious conversions therefore seem to have been uncommon among Bohemian Jews between the wars and the

⁵ The author here cites Bruno Blau (manuscript), *Die Juden in der Tschechoslowakei*. Blau (1938/1939) published the same data for the years 1934–1937.

population losses were largely due to the increased number of “Jewish” children, i.e., born to at least one Jewish parent, who were not registered as Jews.

After the Nazis occupied Czechoslovakia in March 1939, the Nuremberg laws were applied to Jews across the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. One of the first things the Nazi authorities did was to conduct a census to count the number of Jews in the country, as defined by Nazi racial laws. These records were published after the war in *Věstník...* (1947, 330) and indicate that on 15 March 1939 there were 118,310 Jews in the Protectorate, 14,350 of whom were listed as not being members of the Jewish faith. So these “racially defined” Jews outside the Jewish faith had to be children from mixed marriages and converts.

The behavior reflected in the figures on mixed marriages and religious disaffiliation was part of the progressive acculturation of Jews into the majority society. Acculturation does not necessarily lead to assimilation, in which members of the minority become indistinct from the majority; it rather involves adopting certain elements of the majority society and mixing them with elements indigenous to the given minority. This is what the Jews in Bohemia experienced, and it was a process that accelerated step by step from the eighteenth century onwards. A strong vehicle of acculturation was the education system and the relaxed way and decreasing intensity with which children were introduced to the traditions of their religion. In Bohemia Jewish schools began to be increasingly secularized from the end of the eighteenth century. There was also an internal reform movement within Judaism (*Haskala*) that was strongly embraced by members of the Jewish community in the Bohemian lands (see Chapters 2 and 11). The generation of Prague writers born in 1880, among them Franz Kafka and František Langer, write about their alienation from Jewish tradition (Kafka 1966, Langer 1961) and the almost complete loss of it already in the childhood. Between the two world wars few Jewish children or adults in Bohemia received a sound religious education, could speak Hebrew, or prayed regularly. It was not uncommon for Czech Jews to mix Christian and Jewish traditions. At least from the 1870s onwards it seems that most of the Bohemian Jews were very secular, mostly adhering only to the highest Jewish holidays. There were no major pockets of religious orthodoxy. In this respect big differences could be observed across the lands of Czechoslovakia. Moravian Jews maintained their traditions longer and were more observant than Bohemians, while Slovak Jewry was divided between Orthodox Jews in the east and reformists (*Neologs* and *Status Quo*) in the west, and Ruthenians, who were mostly devout Hasids.

Regional variations in religious behavior can also be illustrated by comparing the percentage of mixed marriages: in Bohemia the figure was 43.8%, in Moravia 30.0%, in Slovakia 9.2%, and in Ruthenia 1.3%.

Jewish Immigration to Bohemia and Migration Pressure after the Nazi Occupation

It is interesting that neither Bohemia nor Prague ever became attractive migration destinations for Jews from other countries after legal restrictions were lifted in 1849. Most growth in the Jewish population in Prague was fed by immigrants from rural areas in the Bohemian lands, but the cross-border net migration of Jews was negative. By contrast, Vienna, Budapest, and Berlin saw their Jewish communities grow to hundreds of thousands at the turn of the twentieth century. The vast majority of Jews in these cities arrived as migrants in the second half of the nineteenth century (Table 9.3). Most Jewish migrants to Vienna and Berlin came from other lands and regions within the Habsburg Monarchy. Most immigrants to Budapest were from other parts within the Kingdom of Hungary. Population growth in the other two large Jewish settlements in Central Europe, Lviv (Lemberg) and Cracow (Krakau), was mainly driven by positive natural increase and immigration from surrounding rural areas, as in the case of Prague. It may be that the economic draw of Vienna and Berlin was so strong that Prague and Bohemia simply could not compete with rival destinations, despite being the industrial and technological heart of the Austrian Crown lands. Another possible factor may have been social networks, generally considered a strong factor determining directions of migration flows. It refers to a phenomenon when migrants tend to move to where they already have a family or community member. It may also have had to do with the fact that Orthodox Jews preferred to migrate to or to send their children to study or work in towns where there was an Orthodox community, which Prague, unlike Bratislava (Pressburg), Vienna, Berlin, Budapest, and other cities, did not have in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Bohemia became an attractive migration destination for Jews in the 1930s, when most of the immigrants were driven out of Germany and Austria for political and racial reasons. Bohemia did not last as a refuge for long, as after the Munich Agreement was signed in 1938 Czechoslovak Jews again came under pressure to emigrate. Tomáš Pěkný (1993, 402–3) estimates the volume of migration and migration pressure as follows:

There were at least 5,000 refugees from Germany and Austria across the territory of the Republic at this time; after the German army occupied the Sudetenland in 1938, around 92,000 people fled into the remaining parts of the country, around 17,000 of whom were Jews. Most of them found temporary refuge in Prague, Brno, Moravská Ostrava (Ostrau), Olomouc (Olmütz), and occasionally in rural areas, but their situation was desperate. They weren't welcome here. The authorities sometimes suffered them in silence, but other times mercilessly turned them away; it was not until early March 1939 by intervention of the British government that the forced displacement was halted and most refugees obtained temporary asylum in Czechoslovakia. Jews from the Sudetenland had the status of refugees and there were quotas open to them to migrate to various countries, but the lengthy organizational and administrative procedures meant that 14,500 of them had not yet managed to leave by 15 March 1939. After the Munich Agreement was signed in September 1938 many Jews from other regions in the country also tried to emigrate, but departures on a larger scale started only in the spring of 1939. Organizational difficulties, an unwillingness on the part of some states already inundated with refugees from Germany and Austria, the sluggishness of consular and domestic authorities in Czechoslovakia—these were the main reasons why far fewer people at risk managed to escape Czechoslovakia than what ought to have been possible. According to data of the Jewish religious community, by the end of 1941, when the Nazis de facto put a halt to organized emigration, 25,727 Jews had been saved; between then and July 1943 only 184 were. As of 1 October 1941, according to data from the Jewish religious community, there were 88,105 Jews living in the Protectorate. In November 1941 the mass transports of Jews to Theresienstadt began. In 1943 only a tiny number of Jews were living in the Protectorate outside the ghetto.

Table 9.3: Number of Jews in selected Central European towns, 1857 and 1900

	1857	1900
Prague	7,706	18,986
Brno	215	8,238
Vienna	6,217	146,926
Budapest (a)	12,642	186,047
Berlin (a)	9,500	ca. 110,000
Lvov	22,586	44,258
Cracow	12,937	25,670

a) Data are from 1850.

Source: Thon (1908), Silber (2010).

Summary:

- Although the total number of Jews in Bohemia reached its maximum in 1890, natural increase continued to be positive until 1904. After that year the number of deaths exceeded the number of births and the natural increase turned into a natural decrease and was contributing to the overall Jewish population decrease.
- The net migration of the Jewish population in Bohemia was prevailingly negative at least from the start of the eighteenth century, when the *numerus clausus* came into effect. Only between 1857 and 1910 can we estimate the volume of the total Jewish net migration. It was negative over these five decades with an estimated loss of 40,000 individuals.
- Between 1921 and 1930 Bohemia lost more than 4,000 Jews through negative natural increase. Some of these losses were offset by the net migration gains, probably from the other lands within Czechoslovakia. For the very first time in at least two hundred years Bohemia became a country of net migration gains in the Jewish population.
- The rate of Jewish migration out of Bohemia between the two world wars was probably low.
- Just under 26,000 Bohemian and Moravian Jews managed to emigrate from Nazi-occupied Czechoslovakia, but about 88,000 remained in the Protectorate, and the absolute majority of them were sent to concentration camps and killed.
- Religious conversion was not a widespread phenomenon among Bohemian Jews before 1918, and despite a slight increase in its prevalence the rate of conversions remained low even in the 1920s and 1930s.
- The Jewish population in twentieth-century Bohemia was very secular and was well integrated into majority society between the two world wars. There were almost no Orthodox Jews in Bohemia, and most Jewish families practiced a combination of Jewish and Christian traditions at home. In the 1930s more than 40% of Jewish marriages were mixed and possibly more than half of the children born to such marriages were not registered as members of the Jewish faith.

PART 3.
Social and
Economic Characteristics
of Jews in Bohemia

CHAPTER 10

Linguistic Identity and Ethnicity

The social environment in which a population lives has a significant influence on its demographic reproduction, and this is especially true of minority populations. How open a minority is to the majority population, or, conversely, shut off from it, and how fully the minority is able to participate in the life of society as a whole are important determiners of the extent to which their cultural distinctiveness and specific demographic behavior is reproduced.

The Jewish minority in Europe was traditionally a segregated population living for many centuries in physical and spiritual ghettos, the walls of which could be breached only by certain privileged individuals or for very limited business purposes. The rigidity of physical segregation depended on the will of local rulers, but some spiritual segregation was inherent to Jewish religious tradition. In Bohemia both of these barriers started to crumble in the eighteenth century. The Jewish community opened up unprecedentedly to the Christian Czech and German culture in Bohemia and by the turn of the twentieth century towards the fusion of the two cultures and Jewish acculturation. Bohemia experienced a rapid economic and social boom in the nineteenth century and became the industrial center of the Habsburg Monarchy. This process was accompanied by urbanization, the formation of an ever stronger middle class, and the development of civil society, and it buttressed the emergence of the Czech national revival. This development shaped the chances of social and economic success for Jews, and challenged traditional values, identities, and practices. This section of the book specifically investigates four areas: Jewish language affiliation and ethnicity, educational institutions and progress, the economic and social structure, and the Jewish contribution to the Czech economy.

The opportunity for social and cultural inclusion in the majority society that opened up to Jews after 1848 had some specific features in Bohemia. Unlike other countries where the social inclusion of Jews was at a similar stage, such as Germany, Austria, and Hungary, the new status of Jews in Czech society was influenced by the bi-cultural Czech and German character of society (Kestenberg-Gladstein 1968, 1969b, Mendelsohn 1987, Čapková 2012, Kieval 1988). The Jews' prevailing orientation towards German culture and language was the logical result of their loyalty to the ruling Habsburgs, the general superiority of German culture at that time in the region, and the Germanization of Jewish schooling from at least the time of Joseph II. But everyday contact with the Czech language and Czechs was also common for most Jews in Bohemia. The strengthening Czech national revival in the nineteenth century presented Jews with the difficult choice of whether or not to adopt a linguistic identity that was in fact perceived by gentiles as a patriotic statement. Whatever choice Jews made, neither of the two cultural-linguistic affiliations made acculturation into a bi-cultural society easy. After the Czechoslovak Republic was founded, Jews did not lose any of their previously acquired rights and in general were able to profit from the country's relatively stable, democratic, and economically thriving environment. However, ethnic affiliation was a persistent source of tension in the new multiethnic state, though this was a less weighty issue in Bohemia than in Slovakia or Ruthenia (Mendelsohn 1987).

Data sources:

The statistics on linguistic affiliation cross tabulated with religion come from the population censuses of 1900 and 1910. The information on "Umgangssprache" (the language of common usage) served as a proxy for the ethnic distribution of the population in the Austrian Crown lands. The Umgangssprache question was a tactical one because it gave greater weight to the prominence of the German language in society, which in turn seemed to add strength to the position of ethnic Germans. A direct question on ethnicity or mother tongue would not have produced such an effect. The censuses carried out in Czechoslovakia in 1921 and 1930 asked respondents directly about their ethnicity, and "Jewish" was one of the response options (alongside German, Czech, Slovak, Hungarian, etc.). This was unique in Europe at that time.

A note must be added here concerning the use of the term "Jewish ethnicity" in this text. In general, Jews are an ethnic group of its own,

but here we use the term “Jewish ethnicity” in a slightly different sense that corresponds to how it was used in the population censuses in 1921 and 1930. In these censuses Jews could self-declare Jewish ethnicity, or Czechoslovak, German, Hungarian, or some other. Many Jews actually chose something other than Jewish ethnicity. Thus in the “pure sense” they were ethnic Jews (often also practicing the Jewish religion), but by the “statistical term” they were of Czechoslovak, German, or some other ethnicity. So when I refer here to Jews by ethnicity, I refer to those who chose self-declared Jewish ethnicity in the census.

The dominant German language affiliation among Jews started to change by the end of the nineteenth century. The data on the language of common usage among Jews in Bohemia show that Czech-language use was far from negligible. In 1900, 54% of Jews in Bohemia declared Czech as their language of common usage¹ and 44% said German (Table 10.1). By 1910 the position of the German language had improved slightly (by 5 percentage points), but Czech was still more widespread in Bohemia. This shows that Jews were surrounded by two cultures of almost equal significance and that many Jews lived in Czech-speaking areas and actively used that language, even though most Jews had to know German at least equally well.

In Moravia, however, the situation was very different. There, 77% of Jews in 1900 and 84% in 1910 said German was their language of everyday communication. The differences between Bohemia and Moravia reflect the stronger German influence in Moravia and the varying degree to which communities in the different regions were integrated into Czech society. Jewish communities in Moravia often resided in small towns where they formed a relatively large minority and their neighborhoods had the status of self-governing districts. As a result, these Jewish communities were linguistically more shut off from Czech society, so the traditional use of German in schools and in everyday communication endured. In Bohemia, by contrast, most Jews lived in Czech-speaking or mixed-language regions, so most Jewish children by the turn of the twentieth century were already attending Czech-language primary schools. Taking Prague as his example, Gary B. Cohen (1981) describes the huge shift that occurred in the Jewish population between 1890 and 1900 from German to Czech as the language of everyday communication. In 1890, 74% of Jews in Prague declared German as their language of communication

¹ This category included the Slovak language and Moravian and Silesian dialects.

(12,588 people, data for Prague districts 1 through 7), while in 1900 the figure was just 45 % (8,230). This shift occurred most in the poorer strata of the population (which Cohen defines based on rent levels in the neighborhoods they lived in). Identification with Czech as the language of communication did not of course mean that a person identified wholly with Czech-speaking society, but it is certainly a sign of some integration.

Table 10.1: Total and Jewish population by their language of common usage, Bohemia and Moravia, 1900 and 1910 (%)

Language of common usage	Czech, Slovak, Moravian	German	Other	Total
Total population in 1900 (a)				
Bohemia	62.2	37.0	0.8	100.0
Jews in 1900 (a)				
Bohemia	54.0	43.7	2.3	100.0
Moravia	15.3	77.5	7.2	100.0
Jews in 1910 (b)				
Bohemia	51.5	48.4	0.1	100.0
Moravia	14.0	84.1	1.9	100.0

(a) including foreign nationals, (b) without foreigners.

Source: Census 1900 and 1910, author's computations.

The census of 1921 was the first in which Jews (or any other Czechoslovak citizens) had the option to declare Jewish ethnicity. On the one hand, this meant a pledge from the Czechoslovak state to enforce a broad spectrum of rights for minorities on its territory, but on the other, there was also an undeniable political motive for introducing Jewish ethnicity, and that was to weaken the number of people declaring German or Hungarian ethnicity, the two largest non-Slavic minorities, which were feared to pose a threat to the cohesion of the state (Čapková 2001). In the 1921 census about 13,000 inhabitants in Bohemia declared Jewish ethnicity (Table 10.2). Although in 1930 the number had risen to just under 16,000, this figure was small compared to the number of people who declared themselves members of the Jewish faith. In 1930, for every one person in Bohemia who claimed Jewish ethnicity, there were five who declared they were members of the Jewish faith. People who identified themselves as ethnic Jews also usually declared themselves to be members of the Jewish faith, but some of them declared no faith and others said they belonged to another religion. In 1921, 60 ethnic Jews claimed no affiliation with any religious denomination and in 1930 the figure was 221.

Table 10.2: Population by the Jewish ethnicity and denomination, Czechoslovak lands, 1921 and 1930 (%)

	Jewish ethnicity		Jewish faith
	total	from which confessionless	total
1921			
Bohemia	12,578	60	79,777
Moravia-Silesia	23,121	26	45,306
Slovakia	73,628	13	135,918
Ruthenia	81,529	1	93,341
Total	190,856	100	354,342
1930			
Bohemia	15,697	221	76,301
Moravia-Silesia	21,396	80	41,250
Slovakia	72,678	31	136,737
Ruthenia	95,008	3	102,542
Total	204,779	335	356,830

Source: Census 1921 and 1930, author's computations.

The largest share of people who identified themselves as members of the Jewish faith in Bohemia in 1921 and 1930 declared their ethnicity to be Czechoslovak (49% and 47%, respectively, Appendix 12), approximately one-third claimed German ethnicity (35% and 31%, respectively), and Jewish ethnicity was only the third most common ethnicity (15% and 20%, respectively). The share of Jews with Jewish ethnicity in Bohemia was very small compared to the other Czechoslovak lands and serves as a good reflection of the tremendous differences between Jewries within Czechoslovakia. Whereas only 15% of Jews in Bohemia identified with Jewish ethnicity, in Moravia-Silesia and Slovakia about one-half did, and in Ruthenia it was 87% (Table 10.3).

Table 10.3: Ethnic identities of Jews, Czechoslovak lands, 1921 (%)

	Jewish	Czechoslovak	German	Hungarian	Russian
Bohemia	14.8	49.6	34.9	—	—
Moravia-Silesia	48.8	15.7	35.0	—	—
Slovakia	54.3	22.3	6.7	16.5	—
Ruthenia	86.8	0.8	0.3	7.5	3.9

Note: Data on population without foreigners.

Source: Census 1921, Mendelsohn (1987).

The likely explanations for the different situation in Bohemia are that it was where (1) the Jews were the most integrated; (2) they had a long tradition of interaction with gentiles owing to the traditionally very dispersed settlement and the small communities they formed within the gentile settlements they were part of; (3) Prague was an exception to this but it was a multi-national city where the Czech element dominated between the wars, but where there was enough liberal atmosphere that German and Jewish residents could feel part of the culture; (4) they had a tepid relationship to their religious affiliation; and (5) Zionism had little resonance among them. Moravian Jews were in many respects very similar to those in Bohemia, but because Jewish community life endured longer there they retained their traditions and identity and Zionism was stronger. Slovak Jews included both emancipated Jews in the west of the country and Orthodox Jews in the east. Both were more or less openly confronted with Slovak anti-Semitism and that partly influenced their ethnic affiliation. Some Slovak Jews identified with the Czechoslovak state as a whole, a large number felt they were ethnic Hungarians, but the absolute majority claimed Jewish ethnicity, partly due to the influence of Zionism, and partly owing to the absence of any identification with the other major ethnic groups. In 1921 Ruthenian Jews were still predominantly Hasidic Orthodox, lived in traditional communities, and identified little with either Ruthenes or others. Zionism had a strong resonance there as well.

We can estimate whether the people who declared Jewish ethnicity in the 1921 census came from the ranks of Czech-speaking or German-speaking Jews by breaking down the Jewish population in Bohemia and Moravia according to the language of common usage indicated in the 1910 census and ethnicity in the 1921 census (Table 10.1 and Appendix 12). In 1910 Bohemia, 48% of Jews cited German and 52% Czech as their language of common usage. In 1921, 35% of Jews claimed German and 49% Czech ethnicity. The balance shows a bigger loss among German-speakers (13 percentage points) than among Czech-speakers (3 percentage points). The same exercise for Moravia and Silesia indicates that here again the absolute majority of Jews with Jewish ethnicity was among German-speaking Jews.

Summary:

- Predominantly German-speaking Jews in Bohemia increased their use of Czech in everyday communication in the second half of the nineteenth century due to the linguistically-mixed environment in which they lived and the increasing presence of Czech in public life after the Czech national revival.
- The Jewish ethnic affiliation of Bohemian Jews was relatively weak between the two world wars. Only about one-fifth of Jews declared themselves to be of Jewish ethnicity as compared to about one-half who considered themselves Czechoslovak and one-third German. Jewish ethnic affiliation was much stronger in the other Czechoslovak lands.

CHAPTER 11

Structure of the Education System and Enrolment

Education is often cited as a precondition for technological advancement and the growth of domestic wealth (Cohen 1996, Goldin and Katz 2009). However, not every type of education has those effects. The content of education conducive to economic growth is that of a secular and rationalistic type (Easterlin 1981), and therefore it was not by chance that a spread of this type of education in Europe started in the era of Enlightenment and early industrialization. In demography education is a well-known factor that differentiates fertility and mortality levels. People with higher educational attainment have a higher life expectancy and women with a higher education level usually have fewer children and their children have a lower mortality. A higher level of education correlates with a number of factors that are harder to measure, such as a better life style, personal health care, individual responsibility for one's own wellbeing, or more individualistic values and attitudes. All of that on its own has an impact on reproduction strategies, such as the age of marriage, the desire to limit family size, or the ability to adopt efficient means of contraception. In the context of the study of Jewish demographic behavior, the focus on the introduction, reception, spread, and content of secular education is of particular importance. It was by this means that Jewish traditional communities opened up to the gentile world, its values and its languages, and this is what instigated the changes in their traditional culture.

Jews are known as the “people of the Book” and have made education the cornerstone of their identity. This traditional education had exclusively religious focus. All boys (and to a limited extent also girls) received a religious education and learned literacy skills in Hebrew. They acquired a basic education in schools called *heders* typically at the ages between 3 and 13 years. Children from wealthier families often had their own private

teacher, and children from poor Jewish families or orphans who could not pay the tuition fees of a heder went to Talmud Torah schools supported by local communities. After finishing their studies at a heder, the most talented boys then continued their religious studies in yeshivas, while for the others schooling was finished. In Bohemia, where Jews lived in settlements scattered around the land, Prague was the center of higher Jewish education, and between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries it was home to some of the most influential yeshivas in Europe. Around the end of the eighteenth century the traditional Jewish education system started to change. This change was initiated by Emperor Joseph II. He issued reforms, which were aimed at making Jews already residing in the Austrian Crown lands “useful citizens of the state.” His reforms to education had the biggest impact towards that goal. The Edict of Tolerance (*Toleranzpatent*) enacted in Bohemia in 1781 extended compulsory education (first adopted in 1774) to Jewish communities, which were required to set up government-supervised schools (*Normalschulen*) in each town and village that had a synagogue to teach students mathematics, geography, German language, history, and ethics (*Moralunterricht*). Religion was not part of the *Normalschule* curriculum, and was instead to be taught in traditional Jewish heders. So the two schooling systems were thought to exist in parallel, the first controlled by the state, the second by the rabbis. Communities too small to establish their own *Normalschule* could send their children to non-Jewish establishments (Kieval 2010). To further stimulate the transition to *Normalschulen* in 1786 the Emperor made the granting of marriage certificates conditional upon proof that the bride and groom had attended *Normalschule*. At the same time, general university education officially opened its doors to Jews in 1787.

The project of state-administered German-Jewish education was particularly successful in Bohemia and Moravia. Hecht (2012) explains that the reason for its success was the inclusion of religious Jewish elites in the decision-making process relating to the curriculum of the new school system. Hecht claims that the religious elites in Bohemia, and Prague chief rabbi Ezekiel Landau in particular, were not opposed to the education of secular subjects and German to Jewish children. Their foremost concern was the preservation of the Jewish religious education in their control. When this was assured by the parallel existence of heders, they became supporters of the *Normalschulen* project. The first German-Jewish school for boys was established in Prague in 1782 (a school for girls opened two years later), and became a model for the many other schools of this type that were subsequently founded in Bohemia, Moravia, Galicia, Hungary,

and Bukovina. The whole Prague Jewish community, headed by Prague's chief rabbi Ezekiel Landau, participated in its opening. In the 1780s about 40% of Jewish youths attended the school, and after a sharp drop in the 1790s it continued rising, reaching approximately 50% by 1830. By 1787, there were 25 Jewish elementary schools (*Trivialschulen*) in Bohemian towns and villages, and in 56 villages Jewish pupils attended Christian schools. The *Normalschulen* remained popular throughout the nineteenth century (in 1886, there were 113 such schools in Bohemia), and were abolished at the end of the nineteenth century following a campaign by the Czech national movement aimed against the Germanization of an allegedly Czech population (Hecht 2010, 2012). Jewish children then attended the same schools as their Christian peers, but with separate religious education (*ibid.*). Between the two world wars a similar system continued and most of the Jewish children received no or a very limited religious education.

In the other parts of the Habsburg Monarchy Josephine school reforms were much less successful. Most of the *Normalschulen* founded in Hungary, Galicia, and Bukovina were closed or transformed into religious schools shortly after the death of Joseph II, when the political pressure for their existence was lifted (Hecht 2010). The early establishment and successful development of secular Jewish schooling in Bohemia (and Moravia) was unique at that time in Europe. In Germany, for instance, the struggle for the introduction of secular subjects into the Jewish education was much longer.

The spread of *Normalschulen* in the Bohemian lands (Bohemia and Moravia) had a strong influence on Jewish linguistic and cultural identity. The second generation of the architects of the *Normalschul* curriculum combined the requirements imposed by the Emperor Joseph II with the ideals of the German *Haskalah* (more on *Haskalah* in Chapter 2). *Haskalah* could penetrate the *Normalschulen* via the *Moralunterricht* and undermined the rigid division between Jewish religious studies in *heders* and secular studies in *Normalschulen*. Although Jewish secular schools were not intended to help to spread ideas of *Haskalah*, it seems that “by the 1810s, the values of moderate *Haskalah* penetrated the whole of Jewish society (in Bohemian lands)” (Hecht 2012), and the main instruments of this were *Normalschul* teachers. Education in the German language in *Normalschulen* also signified a turning point for Bohemian and Moravian Jewish communities. The Jewish population, including its elites, born in the 1740s did not usually speak or write in German and used mostly Yiddish (Niedhammer 2013) but their sons and daughters were fluent in German, as they attended secular schools.

The transition towards universal secular basic education among Bohemian Jews occurred quickly and was already successful by the early nineteenth century. But this was not the case for secondary and higher education. Most university-educated Jews who received their diplomas before 1848 studied in German towns. Despite a relatively fast population growth (approx. 1% p.a.) and economic growth (approx. 2% p.a.) in the Habsburg Monarchy between the 1780s and 1840s, the higher education system showed no clear tendency to expand (Cohen 1996). At that time higher education served the utilitarian purposes of the state (educating state officials), with rigid curricula under rigid state control and with an intentionally limited number of students. Neither true intellectuals nor technically- and scientifically-trained individuals were in demand in the Habsburg Monarchy at that time (Cohen 1996). That was in remarkable contrast to the growing liberalizing tendencies in German higher education. A radical change came after the revolution of 1848, when higher education reform came to be considered not only unavoidable but crucial for the modernization of the whole Monarchy (Cohen 1996). The universities gained academic freedoms, modernized their curricula and focused on both teaching and research. Thereafter, teachers at secondary schools and higher institutions could be of any denomination, and the number of secondary schools including the academic ones (Gymnasiums) increased. The reforms further continued in 1867, when the education provision became fully secularized. The Catholic Church lost control over all stages of education and although it still could run schools, the curricula and teachers had to be approved by the state. The number of students in higher education was growing and, as Cohen (1996) shows clearly, their social and ethnic background became ever more diverse. Under these circumstances Jewish enrolment in secondary and higher education was growing rapidly since 1850s.

All this indicates that the Bohemian Jewry had already experienced an important cultural change already by the turn of the nineteenth century, and one that continued further and accelerated after 1848.¹ The first change happened roughly between the generation of parents born in the 1740s and 1750s and their children's generation born around the 1780s and 1790s. This change did lead to the acceptance of a different view on Jewish theological dogma and more openness to the gentile world via knowledge of German and secular education. This resulted in a changing notion of what constituted the "ideal career" of a male Jew. Whereas once

¹ This is also apparent in biographies of prominent Prague Jewish families (Niedhammer 2013).

the ideal had been to be a “classical religious scholar,” brilliant yeshiva student and rabbi, the new ideal was to become a “university-educated Jew,” not just knowledgeable in one’s own religion, but also able to participate in the life and economy of gentile society. Subsequent generations furthered the advance of secular schooling and increasing secularization. As Kieval (1992) notes, the generation of Jews born in the 1810s and 1820s was the first “to pursue gymnasium and university education in a sustained fashion” (247). In his biographical study of five Bohemian Jewish intellectuals born in the 1810s and 1820s, Kieval notes that most of them were very lax about their religious practice or did not practice at all. This may then be the first generation of Bohemian Jews among which we could speak of the beginnings of secularization (although still among a limited number of individuals). The real expansion of higher education of Jews came after 1848 mutually reinforcing each other with newly obtained civic freedoms and urbanization.

The secularization of Jews was reflected in a decrease in the number of religious Jewish schools in Bohemia during the second half of the nineteenth century. The last yeshiva in Bohemia closed in 1881, and only four heders remained by the turn of the twentieth century. František Langer (1961) remembers from his school years in 1890s Prague that the Jewish religious education resembled a history lesson from which he learned as much as from the lessons on the Roman Empire. For his Bar Mitzvah at the age of 13 he had to rewrite the Hebrew text that he was supposed to read from the Torah in contemporary Latin script because he could not read Hebrew properly. By the end of the nineteenth century, the Jewish community in Bohemia was thus becoming increasingly secular (Čapková 2012). The traditional religion-based Jewish identity was being weakened and even mixed with the Christian one. In František Langer’s words: “When anti-Semitism did not express itself too closely or too loudly, our generation thought that it was bound to its Jewishness by nothing more than an entry in the population register” (Langer 1961, 10).

Data sources:

The data analysis in this chapter is based on data on educational enrolment from the 1850s to the 1930s. Before World War I data on school enrolment in the primary schools were categorized separately for Czech and German political districts. A thorough overview of the number of students and the structure of school attendance is provided by Thon (1908) and Heřman (n.d.).

Table 11.1: Primary school attendance of Jews in Bohemia, German, and Czech districts and schools, 1880–1927

Grades 1 to 8 (approx. age 6–14 years)						
Bohemia	1880			1890		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
German districts	5,232	5,537	10,769	2,879	3,247	6,126
Czech districts	1,186	1,619	2,805	3,749	4,198	7,947
Bohemia–Total	6,418	7,156	13,574	6,628	7,445	14,073
% Jewish population	-	-	14.4	-	-	14.9
Grades 1 to 4 (approx. age 6–10 years)						
Bohemia	1921			1924		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
German schools	-	-	2,142	-	-	1,212
Czech schools	-	-	2,486	-	-	1,756
Bohemia–Total	-	-	4,628	-	-	2,968
% Jewish population	-	-	5.8	-	-	3.8
Grades 1 to 4 (approx. age 6–10 years)						
Bohemia	1927			1927		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
German schools	-	-	1,353	-	-	1,353
Czech schools	-	-	1,827	-	-	1,827
Bohemia–Total	-	-	3,180	-	-	3,180
% Jewish population	-	-	4.1	-	-	4.1

a) German districts in Bohemia with dominant inhabitants of the German ethnicity had mostly primary schools with German language of instruction.

Source: Thon (1908), Heřman (n.d.), Census 1880, 1890, 1900, 1921, author's computations.

The earliest available data show that Jews were overrepresented in institutions of higher education and universities. In the second half of the nineteenth century up until the interwar period Jewish pupils were on average ten times more likely than their gentile peers to continue their studies at a secondary school, and after secondary school they were again more likely to go on to university. In the middle of the nineteenth century medicine was the field in which Jews most commonly enrolled at university. By the 1870s the field was law, and technical studies also became increasingly popular. However, Jews made up a disproportionately smaller share of students at the Faculty of Arts (Thon 1908, 88–104). The overrepresentation of Jews among people with higher education and their choice of studies were the basis for the social upswing that the Jewish population in Bohemia experienced from at least the 1860s.

The share of Jews enrolled in primary schools (Volksschule) corresponded almost exactly to the share of Jews of the given age group in the total population. The slightly smaller share of boys enrolled in primary schools before World War I was probably caused by the fact that those from wealthy families may have had private teachers. By the turn of the twentieth century there remained four heder in Bohemia. In 1902 they had a total enrolment of 830 boys, which was equal to 6% of the population of Jewish children of primary-school age. Most of the heder pupils probably combined their Jewish studies with attendance at a primary school. The share of Jewish children attending schools in Czech and German districts had changed considerably by the end of the nineteenth century. While in 1880 the absolute majority of Jewish children still went to German-language schools in German districts, in 1890 more than half of the children attended schools in Czech districts and thereafter most Jewish children attended Czech primary schools (Table 11.1).

The number of Jewish students at secondary schools (Gymnasiums, Realgymnasiums, Realschulen) grew particularly rapidly in the 1860s. In the scope of fifteen years, between 1855 and 1871, their numbers tripled at Bohemian secondary schools. Their relative share of the student body at secondary schools also swelled, reaching almost 13% around 1890, which was exactly ten times more than the statistical share they comprised in the total population (Table 11.2). Jews also more often chose an academic track of study at the secondary level (Gymnasiums, Realgymnasiums) rather than a vocational one (Realschulen). Between the two world wars, when the total number of secondary school students doubled compared to the pre-war years, the share of Jewish secondary students decreased but the absolute number remained the same.

Table 11.2: Secondary school attendance, Jews and the total population in Bohemia, 1855–1928

Average of the years	Total number of students	Jewish students	Proportion of Jews per cent	Per thousand	
				of the total population	of Jews
1855–1871	7,468	434	5.8	-	-
1867–1871	11,861	1,206	10.2	2.3	13.5
1878–1882	20,016	2,285	11.4	3.6	24.2
1888–1892	19,271	2,453	12.7	3.3	26.0
1898–1902	24,656	2,590	10.5	3.9	27.9
1921–1925	55,185	2,980	5.4	-	37.7
1926–1928	49,115	2,554	5.2	-	33.0

Source: Thon (1908), Census 1869, 1880, 1890, 1900, 1921, 1930, author's computations.

Jews formed an even larger share of the total number of university students. Bohemia had only one university, located in Prague (Prague University, today Charles University in Prague), and the Prague Polytechnic (in 1920 renamed the Czech Technical University). Both had a Czech and a German branch since 1882. University students tend to be much more mobile than students at lower educational levels, and it was relatively common for Jews from Bohemia, to move to Vienna, Berlin, or other, usually German, university towns to study. At the same time, Jews from other parts of the Monarchy came to study in Prague. Most Jewish university and polytechnic students in Prague studied in German, and they accounted for over 30% of students in the German branches of the two schools before and after World War I. In the Czech branch of Prague University and Prague Polytechnic, Jews amounted to just a few tenths of the student body before World War I, but between the wars their numbers grew rapidly and reached several hundreds. Between the wars the number of university and polytechnic students in Prague more than tripled both among Jews and among all students, and these schools became attractive educational institutions for students from all over Czechoslovakia. Between 1926 and 1928 there were on average 2,500 Jewish students among the 19,000 students in higher education in Prague. Of the total number of university and polytechnic students in Prague, Jews made up between 10% and 13% throughout the period between 1852 and 1933 (Table 11.3). Assuming that the share of Jewish university students equaled their share among graduates, more than 10% of the university-educated elite in Bohemia would have been Jewish.

Table 11.3: Students enrolled in the Czech and German branches of Prague University and Prague Polytechnic, total number of students and Jewish students 1852–1933

Years average	German University			Czech University		
	Students		Share Jewish, %	Students		Share Jewish, %
	total	Jewish		total	Jewish	
1852–1855	<i>1,069</i>	108	10.1	-	-	-
1861–1865	<i>967</i>	119	12.3	-	-	-
1871–1875	<i>1,533</i>	164	10.7	-	-	-
1882–1886	1,574	336	21.3	1,175	27	2.3
1891–1896	1,258	450	35.8	2,594	64	2.5
1901–1904	1,362	366	26.9	3,401	68	2
1921–1925	<i>8,544</i>	1,521	17.8	8,397	529	6.3
1926–1928	<i>2,874</i>	1,069	37.2	<i>8,430</i>	784	9.3
1932–1933	5,282	1,431	27.1	11,006	1,613	14.7

Years average	German Polytechnic			Czech Polytechnic		
	Students		Share Jewish, %	Students		Share Jewish, %
	total	Jewish		total	Jewish	
1852–1855	-	-	-	-	-	-
1861–1865	-	-	-	-	-	-
1871–1875	<i>625</i>	25	4.0	-	-	-
1882–1886	287	73	25.4	517	7	1.4
1891–1896	275	60	21.8	534	6	1.1
1901–1904	706	216	30.5	1,504	34	2.3
1921–1925	<i>1,892</i>	509	26.9	<i>6,226</i>	193	3.1
1926–1928	<i>2,013</i>	465	23.1	<i>5,611</i>	202	3.6
1932–1933	2,013	405	20.1	5,364	181	3.4

Note 1: Total number of students in *italics* are computed indirectly from the proportion of Jewish students.

Note 2: University and Polytechnic with Czech language of instruction was established only in 1782.

Source: Thon (1908), Heřman (n.d.), Blau (1938–1939), author's computations.

Summary:

- Education is a cornerstone of Jewish culture and religious tradition. This has been translated into a hundreds-of-years-long tradition of education at religious schools for boys.
- The reform of Jewish schooling imposed in 1781 triggered a transition from religious education of boys to universal secular education of boys and girls at Normalschulen, where modern educational subjects were taught and Jews were introduced to the gentile language (German) and

values. In Bohemia, Normalschulen became widespread and were universally attended by Jewish pupils in parallel with heders in the first half of the nineteenth century. Later the traditional Jewish schools (heders and yeshivas) decreased in numbers and importance and most Jewish pupils attended just secular schools.

- The successful spread of the Normalschulen in Bohemia ushered in a changing notion of what constituted the “ideal career” of a male Jew by the turn of the nineteenth century. The new ideal was to become a “university-educated Jew,” not just knowledgeable in one’s own religion, but also able to participate in the life and economy of gentile society.
- In other parts of the Habsburg Monarchy, such as Hungary, Galicia, and Bukovina, the concept of Normalschulen did not catch on. This may have been one of the factors that delayed the modernization and secularization of Jewry in these lands.
- The language of instruction at Normalschulen was German, so German became the dominant language of communication among Jews in Bohemia.
- The secularization of Jewish schooling gradually altered Jewish values and aspirations and Jews became more open to gentile society. This can already be observed among the first generation of graduates from these schools in the 1790s.
- Enrolment in the secondary and tertiary levels of education was more common among Jews than among gentiles from at least the 1850s. In the 1890s Jews were ten times more likely to study at a secondary school than their gentile peers. As far back as records go (to the 1850s), Jews were also overrepresented among students at Prague University and Prague Polytechnic. They represented between 10% and 13% of the student body.
- In general, Jews favored German-language secondary and tertiary education even between the two world wars. The language preference at the primary level, however, was different, and from the 1890s the majority of Jewish pupils studied at Czech-language primary schools.

CHAPTER 12

Social Status, Professional Structure, and Economic Contributions

What did the professional structure of the Jewish population look like and how did it change over time? Why was it distinct from that of the non-Jewish population? In what way was it similar to or different from the professional structure of Jewish populations in neighboring countries? These are the questions this chapter seeks to answer.

Even in the modern era, the professional choices of the Jewish population were largely path-dependent and influenced by earlier historical circumstances. In the twelfth century restrictions were placed on what kinds of professions Jews could practice, and although these limitations varied over time, the basic rules remained the same. Generally Jews were not allowed to own land, and for many centuries they were permitted only to perform those occupations that Christians were prohibited from doing, such as loaning money for interest, or those occupations that did not compete directly with Christians, such as selling wares door to door and trading in used goods. Other crafts, trades, and services practiced by Jews could produce goods solely for consumption within the Jewish community. However, these circumstances gradually changed. Jews lost their monopoly on the financial business, but their trade in goods expanded. Jewish artisanal production managed to penetrate the Christian market in Bohemia from the sixteenth century, to the displeasure of guild organizations. From 1752 Bohemian Jews were able to own distilleries, butcher shops, or potash companies. It was usually difficult for Jewish craftwork to penetrate the market outside the ghetto, and although in the 1780s Joseph II authorized the sale of Jewish craftwork to gentiles, the power of the guilds prevented Jewish crafts from expanding. Only in the mid-nineteenth century did the situation begin to change, when the guilds began to lose power (they were abolished in 1859). A

noticeable exception was textile production and manufacturing. There the guilds were already abolished by the mid-eighteenth century and Jews had equal opportunities with gentiles in this sector (Feudenberg 2003). This was because most of the Monarchy's textile factories were lost with the loss of parts of Silesia to Prussia in the 1740s, and the state needed to replace them. As a result most of the first big Jewish manufacturers in the Habsburg Monarchy engaged in the textile industry. Thus, Jews' professional choices depended upon what kinds of occupations they were allowed to practice by the sovereign or nobleman they lived under, or by the general population and the church. Since similar restrictive measures were applied more or less across the whole Christian Europe, the specific socio-professional structure of the Jews became a universal characteristic of their population in most countries in Europe.

In Bohemia the December Constitution of 1867 put a definitive end to the legal restrictions placed on the economic activities of the Jews by giving them full civic equality, making the Habsburg Monarchy a relatively liberal space for the free movement of goods, capital, and labor. By the second half of the nineteenth century, individual regions in the Monarchy were in the full throes of industrialization, modernization, urbanization, and economic specialization: in Hungary agriculture and the food industry surged; in Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia the textile, engineering, and metallurgy industries and the mining of raw and other materials surged; and Vienna and Budapest became the centers of trade and finance in the Monarchy. Large numbers of people, including Jews, migrated out of the poorer, mostly agricultural regions to towns and industrial regions. After World War I the large, integrated market of the Habsburg Monarchy collapsed and to some degree this had a negative economic impact on all the successor states. The Bohemian lands, where most production was intended for export, lost their traditional Central European markets as adjacent states introduced protectionist policies, and had to re-orientate themselves towards markets in other parts of Europe and the world. In contrast to the macro-economic situation, the social status of Jews in Czechoslovakia after 1918 was very good, their civic rights were guaranteed, and any expression of anti-Semitism was condemned and suppressed by the state authorities.¹ As a result the Jews were able to continue their economic activity uninterrupted by the creation of a new state.

¹ There were anti-Semitic outbursts in the republic immediately after World War I. These public excesses did not recur later.

Data sources:

Data on the professional structure of the Jewish population in Bohemia are available from as far back as the early eighteenth century. They were collected as part of the Monarchy's efforts to control and limit the number of Jews on its territory. The first census of Jewish Familiants with detailed information on their professional structure dates from 1724 for rural Jews and from 1729 for Prague Jews. A later census dates from 1792 for Prague and from 1794 for rural areas in Bohemia. Data and analyses of these censuses were published by Kuděla (1989) and Woitsch and Bahenský (2007), and here I cite the respective census data from these two sources.

The first Austrian statistics published on the socio-professional structure of the population by religious affiliation were from the census of 1900 for the whole Austrian Crown lands. In the census of 1910 these data were published also by individual lands within the Crown lands, and in 1921 for each Czechoslovak land. In the 1930 census the data on Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia were combined. Some notion of the status of a household can also be discerned from information on the number of domestic servants, and such data were published by ethnicity in the census of 1921.

Secondary sources with useful data on the socio-professional structure of the Jewish population in Central Europe include a study of the economic behavior of Jews in Central Europe by Yehuda Don (1990), who draws on the hypotheses and analytical tools of Kuznets (1960), and the chapter by Joseph C. Pick (1968), "The Economy," in *The Jews of Czechoslovakia*. Pick's chapter contains a list of people of Jewish origin and their occupations in different enterprises by sector of industry or trade. Though unparalleled in scope and breadth, Pick's study does not contain any general conclusions on the contribution of Jews to the Czechoslovak economy. Don's and Pick's studies use different approaches to the subject. Pick's study takes the "bottom-up" approach, describing the role of individuals, while Don's study offers a "top-down" analysis of the status of Jews in society and the share of Jews working in different sectors of the economy. In this chapter a more general approach, based on Don's methodology, is applied to assess the role Jews played in the Czech economy.

The censuses of Jewish Familiants in the eighteenth century provide a detailed picture of the Jewish professional structure at a time when the

feudal organization of society had just started to transform, the legal restrictions on Jews were still firmly in place, and the Jewish community in Bohemia still lived a very traditional life. The census of Jews in 1724 reveals that about half of all rural Familiants in Bohemia made a living in trade (52%), 20% were craftsmen, 13% were leaseholders of gentry businesses, and 15% performed a free profession or were employed by the Jewish community (Heřman n.d.). The Prague census of Jews in 1729 shows that almost one-third of all self-employed people in the ghetto were independent master craftsmen: cooks, button-makers, milliners, butchers, and so on, but the largest share were tailors and shoemakers (Pěkný 2001, 312). As regards trade, in the early eighteenth century Jews traded in almost every kind of good: precious and ordinary metals, gems, wool, linen, furs, skins and leather goods, clothing (old and new), feathers, drinks, including wines and spirits, spices, horses, cattle, fowl, wax, oil, fats, and more (Pěkný 2001, 303), and this despite the efforts to limit Jewish trade. The professional structure of Prague Jews seven decades later, in 1792, shows a striking resemblance to that from 1729. The most common occupation of Prague Familiants in 1792, as in 1729, was employment in the production and trade of textiles and textile products (around 20%). A relative increase was observed in the number of people employed in financial businesses (about 6.5% of Familiants), and the number of second-hand dealers and bookmakers also grew (Kuděla 1989). Despite the large spectrum of Jews working in crafts there were no individuals in the Prague ghetto working in the building professions such as masons or carpenters. In rural areas in 1794 roughly 45% of Jewish Familiants were employed in trade, 25% in crafts, and the remaining 20% held other professions such as leaseholders or were employees of the Jewish community services (Woitsch and Bahenský 2007).

After the relatively detailed information on the Jewish professional structure from the eighteenth century, data from the nineteenth century are very scarce. The censuses of 1910, 1921, and 1930, however, provide evidence of the changelessness of the professional structure of the Jewish population in Bohemia.² Trade (including finance) remained the main

² The census data of 1910, 1921, and 1930 actually contain data on the employment sector the population “belonged” to, which means that the person could be employed in the given category him/herself or could be a member of a household whose head was employed in the respective category. This distorts the picture of how many people were actually working in the sector, as it is known that workers in different sectors tended to have different household sizes (e.g. farmers tended to have larger families than traders). When I speak in the text about the employment structure based on the data from these

Table 12.1: Population by employment sector, Jews and the total population, Bohemia 1910 and 1921, and the Bohemian lands 1930

Sectors of employment	Jews			Total population		
	1910	1921	1930 (a)	1910	1921	1930 (a)
A: Agriculture, forestry, fishing	39	34	17	323	297	241
B: Industry, handicraft and small businesses	207	196	196	410	410	417
C: Trade, finance, transport	539	501	507	132	125	151
D: Public service, free professions, army	215	97	103	135	59	63
E: Household and personal services	-	2	4	-	12	15
F: Other and unknown (b)	-	170	173	-	97	113
Total	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000

(a) A sum of data for Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia.

(b) Includes rentiers, persons in institutional care, and students.

Source: Census 1910, 1921, 1930, author's computations.

source of income for about one-half of Bohemian Jews. They were four times as likely as members of the total population to make their living in trade. The largest share, 87%, worked in trading goods. A similar trend can be observed in other countries. A comparison of countries at different stages of economic development, such as Germany, Hungary, and Poland (Don, 1990; Table 12.2), shows that the more economically advanced the country was (measured as the ratio of workers in trade to workers in agriculture, Table 12.2, column II), the greater the prevalence of Jews working in trade (Table 12.2, column III). This trend observed among Jews cannot be found among gentiles in the same countries (Table 12.2, column I). It implies that Jews were able to take advantage of the greater employment opportunities in trade that arose with the expansion of industry.

Approximately one-fifth of Jews in Bohemia made their living from industry, handicraft, and as small entrepreneurs in the first third of the twentieth century (19.6% in 1921). This number is much smaller than the share of the total population who made a living from these sectors (41.0% in 1921). This proportional disparity can be explained by the comparatively few manual laborers among the Jews: only 14%, compared to 65% in the total population. Jews working in industry were usually the owners or co-owners (37%) or white-collar workers (39%).

censuses it is always about people "working plus people dependent on work in the given sector."

Table 12.2: Ratio of people working in trade to industries and trade to agriculture in selected Central European countries, Jews and the total population

Countries	Total pop. in trade	Total pop. in trade	Jews in trade
	Total pop. in industries	Total pop. in agriculture	Jews in industries
	I	II	III
Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia (1930)	0.30	0.66	2.40
Czechoslovakia	0.20	0.33	2.10
Germany	0.33	0.92	2.67
Hungary	0.20	0.12	1.41
Poland	0.21	0.09	0.89

Note 1: Data for the Central European countries are most likely from the 1930s.

Note 2: Category of commerce also includes finance and transportation in Czechoslovakia.

Source: Don (1990), Census 1930, author's computation.

Most Jews working in industry worked in the clothing industry (approx. 3,000 people), the food industry (approx. 2,000), the textile industry (approx. 1,600), and the machine industry (approx. 1,200).³ Most small Jewish entrepreneurs made their business also in the clothing, food, or textile industries. An idea of the relative weight of Jewish engagement in different industries is provided by the concentration index (Don 1990; Table 12.3). An index value greater than 1 means that the share of Jews working in the given industrial sector is relatively high; concretely, it is the “index value”-times greater than the share of Jews out of the total number of employees in industry as a whole (for details on how this indicator was calculated, see Appendix 13). The index shows that Bohemian Jews were most overrepresented in the chemical, clothing, leather, food, paper and printing, and machine industries. There was a 4.5 times larger share of Jews working in the chemical industry than in industry as a whole (Table 12.3). Jewish employment in industry was highly specialized. This can be seen when the industrial employment of Jews in the Bohemian lands is divided into three groups A, B, and C. Group A includes the sectors of industry in which Jews formed a disproportionately larger share of total employees, i.e., the chemical, garment, leather, and food industries; group B comprises industries in which Jewish employment was just above or about the average, i.e., the printing, paper, machine, textile, and shoe

³ These data are from the population census in 1930 for Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia combined.

industries; and group C encompasses all the remaining sectors of industry. Almost one-half of all Jews working in industry were concentrated in group A, while in the total population only one-fifth of the industrial employees worked in these sectors (Table 12.4). This industrial specialization could also be observed in other countries. In Austria, Germany, and Poland, Jews specialized in similar sectors as in Bohemia, in particular the manufacturing and trade of garments and shoes, the production of leather and fur products, book printing, the production and trade of spirits, and sugar refining (Table 12.3). These were sectors in which Jews specialized traditionally for many centuries. This path dependency is understandable, as these were fields in which Jews could build on their existing know-how and use their traditional business networks.

Table 12.3: Concentration index of the industrial activity of Jews by sector, selected Central European countries

Country and year	Industrial sector						
	Chemical	Clothing	Leather	Food	Paper and printing	Machinery	Textile
Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia (1930)	4.5	2.4	2.3	1.8	1.6	1.2	0.9
Czechoslovakia (1921)	-	3.1	2.1	2.3	2.0	-	0.3
Germany (1907)	-	3.0	2.0	2.4	1.4	-	0.6
Austria (1910)	-	2.0	1.4	2.2	1.4	-	0.5
Poland (1921)	-	1.8	1.9	1.3	1.2	-	0.6

Note 1: For computation procedure see Appendix 13.

Note 2: The respective population taken into account in the computation differs across the countries:

For Austria, all the persons belonging to/dependent on the person economically active in a respective sector are taken into account; for all the other countries, solely the economically active are taken into account.

Source: Don (1990), Census 1930, author's computations.

Table 12.4: Distribution of the Jewish and total population in the Bohemian Lands by industrial sector group, 1930

Employed in industry	Group A		Group B		Group C	
	Jews	Total pop.	Jews	Total pop.	Jews	Total pop.
Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia	48.5	21.0	30.0	29.8	21.5	49.2

Note: Group A: the chemical, garment, leather, and food industries; Group B: the printing, paper, machine, textile, and shoe industries; Group C: all remaining sectors of industry.

Source: Census 1930, author's computations.

The majority of Jews in Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia (regardless of whether they were working in industry, trade, or another field) were self-employed in 1930 (Table 12.5). The largest share of Jewish owners or co-owners of businesses was in the chemical industry, mining,⁴ and also in the textile, paper, printing, and leather industries. Among the Jewish employees in Bohemia, the most common occupation was white-collar worker (about 20% of all economically active) and just 6% were laborers. A substantial number of economically active Jews worked in free professions (11% in 1930), most often as doctors, pharmacists, lawyers, architects, and journalists.

Table 12.5: Occupational status of the working Jewish and total population, Bohemia, 1910, 1921, 1930

Occupational status	Jewish population			Total population		
	1910	1921	1930 (a)	1910	1921	1930 (a)
Self-employed	53.2	58.5	52.7	31.3	31.6	29.0
Officials, white collars	21.9	21.4	19.5	4.2	7.3	6.8
Lower clerks and service workers (1930) (b)	-	-	13.8	-	-	7.0
Blue collars	13.5	14.8	5.9	17.4	43.2	37.5
Apprentices	2.7	1.6	1.5	26.1	4.4	3.5
Others (leaseholders, day-labourers)	1.0	0.7	0.5	7.1	6.5	5.0
Helping family members	7.7	3.0	6.1	13.9	7.0	11.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

a) Combined data for Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia.

b) It includes such professions as shop assistants, peddlers, site clerks, chief waiters, etc.

Source: Censuses 1910, 1921, 1930, author's computation.

The employment structure of Bohemian Jews between the two world wars leaves no doubt that most of the Jewish households belonged to the middle or upper middle classes. One sign that a household is well-to-do is when it can afford to hire household servants. In Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, 50% of households headed by a Jew (by ethnicity) had one domestic servant, and 8% of households had two or more servants in 1921. In the total population only 10% of households had servants. In the other lands within Czechoslovakia the share of Jewish households with servants was also several times greater than in the total population.⁵

⁴ Out of just 43 co-/owners of mines, 7 were Jewish.

⁵ The social profile of Jews that self-declared Jewish ethnicity need not correspond completely with the social profile of Jews defined by denomination.

Summary:

- There was a remarkable path-dependency to the occupations and sectors of the economy in which Jews worked. Their specialty areas from before the Emancipation were still reflected in the twentieth-century occupational structure.
- Although Bohemian Jews were a predominantly rural population before the mid-nineteenth century, the occupations they most often held were in trade and crafts.
- More than one-half of economically active Jews worked in trade in the eighteenth, as well as in the twentieth centuries.
- Jewish occupations in industry were highly concentrated within a few sectors. About one-half of Bohemian Jews employed in industry between the two world wars worked in the chemical, garment, leather, and food industries. Concentration to similar sectors could be observed among Jews in Austria, Germany, and Poland.
- The structure of Jewish employment by sector as well as by occupation was very different from the majority population. More than one-half of Jews were the owners or co-owners of their business and about 10% practiced a free profession. Jews also more often held higher-qualified jobs as white-collar workers (about one-fifth of working Jews). Only about 6% of Jews in 1930 were manual laborers.
- The occupational profile that emerges from all the censuses between 1910 and 1930 indicates that most Jews belonged to the middle and upper class. Further evidence of this is the fact that more than one-half of all Jewish households (by ethnicity) had at least one house servant.
- The occupational profile and the employment sectors of Jews in Bohemia were quite similar to those of Jews in Germany and Austria.

Conclusion

This book has analyzed population dynamics in transition in the context of modernization and the interaction between the social, economic, legal, and political environments. I have studied Bohemian Jews as *forerunners* of the demographic transition, and have discussed the timing and circumstances of demographic changes in this population, which was among the first in European history to consciously limit its fertility. How did Bohemian Jews become a demographic transition forerunner, when did it happen, and what were the triggers? This book has mapped the manifold demographic changes among Jews in Bohemia from the mid-eighteenth to the mid-twentieth centuries. Whereas the two last Parts have been heavy with data description, analysis, and comparisons, in this conclusion I attempt to answer the larger questions of how, when, and why a population becomes demographically avant-garde and what are the necessary conditions for the demographic transition to occur.

Surrounded by general hostility and only conditional tolerance from the gentile environment, Jews in Bohemia, like elsewhere, retained a distinctive culture and religion that defined their identity but also made them permanent strangers within the majority society (Chapter 2). According to Slezkine (2004), this position of Jews was not unique. Many agrarian and pastoral societies contained alien population groups that served as middlemen performing tasks that the natives were unable or unwilling to perform. Often non-primary producers, these middlemen specialized in the delivery of goods and services to the surrounding populations. Jews had played this role in Europe since the early Middle Ages. Their position of conditionally tolerated strangers was codified by the papal edicts from the early thirteenth century and was subsequently adjusted by different rulers in different settings. These legal restrictions renegotiated with each new

ruler defined the arena of Jewish engagement in the economy, their tax rates, and the Jews' relationship with the gentiles. These restrictions allowed Jews to specialize in trade, business, money lending, and entertainment, occupations that were not competing directly with gentiles. Quite naturally, these occupations made Jews more mobile, entrepreneurial, in need of literacy, and often equipped them with broader horizons in their knowledge of people, languages, and occupations (Slezkine, 2004). Jewish communities in Europe were self-reproducing but not self-sufficient. The strict Jewish within-community reproduction was extremely sensitive to the conditions set up by the surrounding gentile majority. Jewish distinctiveness from the early Middle Ages until early modernity is a result of the perpetual interactions between legal restrictions and the inherent cultural tradition of Jews. Jewish demographic behavior reflects these interactions.

Bohemian Jews shared the general fate of Jews in pre-modern Europe, albeit with some particular qualifications. The most important specific features were the undisrupted Jewish settlement in Bohemia from the tenth century until World War II, and their predominantly rural settlement (Chapters 2 and 4). From the sixteenth century, when banned from most royal towns, Bohemian Jews lived scattered in small villages and towns as minorities among the gentiles. An exception to that was Prague, with its populous Jewish community and continuous thousand-year history. It was a center of spiritual and economic elites, and had the most important yeshivas. For hundreds of years, the traditional Jewish lifestyle and organization of its community proceeded without intervention from the gentile world. Jewish activities were only regulated when they came to interaction with the Christians or their businesses. In Bohemia, this Jewish intra-community independence started to be limited in the eighteenth century, with the intervention of absolutistic rulers. Charles VI imposed limitations on the allowed number of newly-formed Jewish families in Bohemia in the Familiant Law; Joseph II intervened in Jewish communal self-government and education. These intrusions forced Jews to adjust by becoming more open to gentile culture.

The educational reform imposed by Joseph II in 1781 was of particular importance in this respect. It forced Jews in the Habsburg Monarchy to send their children to Jewish secular schools with German as their language of instruction. In many lands of the Monarchy this school reform met with resistance from local Jewish elites, and Jewish secular schools were abolished soon after the death of the Emperor. But such was *not* the case in Bohemia (and Moravia). There, Joseph II's educational reform

was successful as it was implemented with the support and collaboration of the Jewish religious elites, and in particular the chief rabbi of Prague (Chapter 11). The result was that, by the turn of the nineteenth century, most Jewish children attended secular Jewish or Christian primary schools, in parallel with traditional Jewish *heders*. In addition to this state-imposed secularization of Jewish schooling, the Jewish religious elites were simultaneously confronted with the Jewish religious reform movement, the *Haskalah* (Chapters 2 and 11). The initial resistance of the first generation of Bohemian rabbis who were confronted with *Haskalah* dissipated as these rabbis were replaced by the next generation. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, moderate *Haskalah* ideas of Jewish integration into gentile society and a nascent Jewish secular culture spread among Bohemian Jews. Together, the successful introduction of Jewish secular education and the gradual acceptance of *Haskalah* ideas led to a transformation of Jewish tradition and culture towards more open, individualistic, and later more secular values and attitudes. This shift happened very early compared to the gentile society in Bohemia and to the Jewries in other European countries. The spread of Jewish secular education in Bohemia coincided with the French Revolution, while the acceptance of *Haskalah* in Bohemia coincided with the period of the Napoleonic Wars.

The first half of the nineteenth century saw an acceleration of industrialization processes in the Habsburg Monarchy. More and more business opportunities opened up to Jews outside the ghetto in the fast-developing industrial sectors, just at the time when the first generations of Jewish boys and girls were graduating from secular schools and continuing their studies at secondary schools and universities. The revolution of 1848 opened the path to full legal equality for all citizens of the Habsburg Monarchy, including Jews. By that time Jews, more so than most gentiles, were ready to flourish economically and rise up socially through the majority society. Many Jews boasted good language skills, knowledge, literacy, networks, and a positive professional bias towards rare-goods trading or becoming merchants (Chapter 12). This resulted in the rapid urbanization of the Jewish population, an intense spatial mobility within and outside the country, fast professional mobility (especially in business and trade), and high participation levels in higher education, both as students and teachers.

From a demographic perspective, in the same period between the mid-eighteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries, the Jewish population in Bohemia also witnessed its fastest-ever population growth, as it tripled in size (Chapter 4). This fast growth occurred despite the legal restrictions im-

posed by the Familiant Law until 1849. Until the mid-nineteenth century, Jewish population growth was faster than that of gentiles as a result of higher marriage incidence and lower mortality rates. The Jewish crude birth rate, on the other hand, was *lower* than that of the gentiles. It declined steadily for about a hundred years, from 36 per thousand in 1780 to 27 per thousand in 1880. Until the 1850s this fertility decline allowed for fast population growth, as fertility levels were higher than mortality levels and the fertility decrease was accompanied by a proportionate decrease in crude death rates. This left room for a higher natural increase than in the total population. After 1850, however, fertility decline exceeded mortality decline and the pace of natural increase slowed (Chapter 9). After 1880, the crude birth rate started falling steeply, reaching 12 per thousand in 1913. The size of the Jewish population had already begun to shrink from 1890 onwards, as population was lost through negative net migration and, after 1904, by natural decrease. In the 1920s and 1930s Jewish fertility decreased still further. Between the wars, net migration was positive but too small to compensate for this fertility decrease. The decrease accelerated between the wars mainly due to religious disaffiliation of children born in mixed marriages. Based on the considerations discussed in Chapter 7, I assume that more than half of these children were not registered as members of the Jewish faith. Since in the 1930s mixed Jewish marriages accounted for more than forty percent of all Jewish marriages, this was likely to lead to a considerable number of potentially Jewish newborns not registered as such. Religious conversions remained rare among Bohemian Jews and they did not significantly affect Jewish population decline. Between the world wars, the Jewish population in Bohemia was ageing, and had a contracting age structure, high heterogamous marriage rates, and a life expectancy at birth about seven years longer than the total population. World War II was a catastrophe for Jews in Bohemia as well as the rest of Europe. About two-thirds of Bohemian Jews died in the concentration camps, and most of the rest emigrated, either before 1941, immediately after the war, after the communist coup in 1948, or after the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968. Today, members of the Jewish community in the Czech Republic number only a couple of thousand.

For understanding how, when, and why the Jewish population in Bohemia became a demographic avant-garde, a cohort perspective on the demographic changes is more suitable. This perspective highlights the generations whose demographic behavior could have been affected by the cultural, legal, and socio-economic conditions that were in place (Chapter 7).

The generations of Jews born in the *1740s and 1750s* were still very strongly embedded in the traditional culture. They grew up in a still relatively closed communal society, and for the most part they could not write or speak German and were literate only in Hebrew. The generation of their children born in the *1780s and 1790s* was already very different. A significant number of them received secular education as well as a traditional religious education and could speak and write in German as well as Hebrew (Chapter 11). Those from wealthy families were likely to have private teachers not only for religious education, but also for languages, music, and literature. Some members of this cohort were already attending Prague Polytechnics or Prague University or studying abroad. While some of them continued to observe closely the Jewish traditions, many others became more relaxed. The generations born in the *first decades of the nineteenth century* were even more embedded in the gentile culture and society. These generations largely adopted for themselves and their children values and aspirations quite distinct from the traditional Jewish culture and lifestyle. Their ideals were no longer linked only to traditional religious values, but were also likely to be attached to successful careers in the gentile world, civic freedoms, and aspirations for a new Jewish identity within the German or Czech ethnic community. The events of 1848 brought the Jews civic freedom, but were also accompanied by an outburst of anti-Semitism and a growing animosity between more assertive Czech nationalists and the ruling German ethnic group. Despite this atmosphere, Jews took advantage of their newly-acquired civil rights and legal equality to participate in the dynamic economic growth of industry, trade, and business. In the scope of two to three generations, they left the rural agrarian areas, the center of gravity of Jewish settlement before 1848, and moved to Prague and other dynamic industrial places in the country such as North Bohemia and Plzeň. Many went to Vienna, and by the end of the nineteenth century many others were migrating overseas. The generation behind the first waves of migration to areas of urban and economic growth was probably those Jews born in *the 1830s*. The transition to postponed and non-universal marriage started most likely with the generations born in *the 1830s and 1840s* (Chapter 5). From an accelerating decrease of the crude birth rate (Figure 7.1) we can deduce that the fertility of most of *the 1840s generation* of Jewish women was already being limited, most likely in all three possible ways: a later start to reproduction, longer spacing between babies, and earlier stopping of reproduction.

Searching to explain *why* the demographic transition happened at a certain time and in a certain way is a more complex endeavor. The leading

theories of the demographic transition, briefly reviewed in Chapter 1, most often emphasize either evolving cultural factors, such as changing values and attitudes, or adjustments to socio-economic stimuli, such as professional status, location, and lifestyle, as the key triggers of the demographic transition. The case of Bohemian Jews has shown these two driving forces, attitudinal evolution and adjustment, as acting in tandem throughout history. The abolition of Jewish legal discrimination in 1849, and the subsequent new social and economic opportunities this brought undoubtedly contributed to the acceleration of the fertility transition of Bohemian Jews in the second half of the nineteenth century. However, such a strong and swift demographic reaction would not have been possible had there not already been some process of cultural change under way, initiated, in this case, by the spread of secular education and of the ideas of the Haskalah by the end of the eighteenth century. As a result, in the scope of two to three generations Jews adopted a set of norms and attitudes that were more individualistic and secular. This new set of values was conducive to bringing about changes in reproductive behavior. Attitudinal evolution and adjustment must be thought of as necessary causal processes that need to be jointly present in order to produce a demographic transition. It is difficult and potentially futile to try to attribute causal dominance to one process over the other, as they continue to influence each other.

The onset of the demographic transition is usually defined as the time when the fertility rate is declining in a sustained manner, accompanied or even preceded by a mortality decline. It is hard to pinpoint this historical moment among the Jews in Bohemia: both Jewish mortality and Jewish fertility levels were already lower than for the total population by the time of my earliest available data (the 1780s) and both variables continued declining after the 1780s (Figure 7.1). Since it is unclear when and from what level fertility began to decrease before the 1780s, it is difficult to confidently define the starting point of the Jewish demographic transition in Bohemia. If we think about the timing of the demographic transition less schematically, the importance of ideational changes that imply an acceptance of conscious fertility limitation stands out—changes that Lesthaeghe and Vanderhoeft (2001) define as a “readiness, willingness, and ability” to embark on the demographic transition. In this model, “readiness” refers to the calculus of the costs and benefits of fertility limitation, “willingness” to normative (religious, ethical) values that are not opposed to the conscious limitation of reproduction, and “ability” to understand and use of effective contraceptive methods.

Bohemian Jews appear to have already had the “willingness” and “ability” by the end of the eighteenth century, as evidenced by a crude birth rate roughly one-fifth below that of the total population, despite the almost universal incidence of marriage (Chapter 7). “Readiness” is the most sensitive factor to external conditions. Fertility limitation can only be rational if having many children is perceived as a less valuable asset; that is, when the direction and magnitude of intergenerational wealth in most cases flows from the parents to the children (Caldwell 1976). Wealth is meant here in a broader sense than just monetary and encompasses social status and prestige. Jews traditionally invested more in their offspring than Christians (Chapter 8). The relatively greater Jewish readiness to nurture their children carefully in their childhood, to send them to schools, or to have more efficient institutions for orphans reflected a long-standing tradition embedded in religious rules, and it was one cause behind the lower mortality rates of Jewish children. This cultural determination could then naturally be amplified when the external socio-economic conditions made desires for individual achievement more realistic for Jews. For example, a small Jewish tradesman in Bohemia in 1795 may have desired further business expansion in the main industrial area, capital accumulation, better housing, and better education for his children. But this was probably doomed to remain an unfulfilled dream, because he could neither move outside the ghetto nor do his business outside it, and he probably could not afford to pay for higher education for his children because of the high taxes on Jews. Under these circumstances, a reproductive strategy of strongly limiting the number of children he had would not have made much difference to his chances to pursue his dream. The external stimulus, the “empowerment” was missing, even though the “readiness” was there. Readiness awaiting empowerment is the key explanation for the fast and early onset of the demographic transition among the Jews. The Jews in Bohemia were already ready, willing, and able to begin limiting fertility by the first third of the nineteenth century, but empowerment through equal civil rights and equal opportunities to succeed socially and economically gave meaning to fertility limitation.

So what made Jews the (demographic) *avant-garde*? To answer this we have to look back to their enduring status as strangers, the middlemen who provided the kinds of services for the local population that required mobility, occupational flexibility, and literacy. Jews were service nomads and “modernity was about everyone becoming a service nomad” (Slezkine 2004, 30). Jewish readiness for modernity was truly *avant-garde*, an asset that helped them to achieve unprecedented and rapid upward social mobil-

ity. But was that enough for them to become the demographic avant-garde? Certainly not. Other factors inherent to Jewish culture contributed to making the Jews the forerunners of the demographic transition, among them the culturally-embedded emphasis on responsibility for one's own life, the wellbeing of the family, the health of children, and the emphasis on developing human capital. These had a positive impact on Jewish mortality, which was an important prerequisite for the onset of the fertility transition. The cultural readiness of Bohemian Jews for the demographic transition depended on two elements of value and attitude change: a willingness to become a part of gentile society and the relaxation of religious orthodoxy that enabled greater individualism and the acceptance of limiting family size on moral grounds. In Bohemia, these factors were all present by the turn of the nineteenth century. The settlement structure of the Jews was also conducive to the spread of ideas necessary for the onset of the demographic transition. Prague, the Jewish center in the country and home to most wealthy Jews and intellectual elites, was where the cultural and religious orientation of the Jewish community in all of Bohemia was defined. This monopoly on values facilitated the rapid diffusion of new ideas to the rural peripheries, mediated to some extent by the curricula and teachers at secular Jewish schools. Jewish communities in rural Bohemia had small populations and were scattered across the land. Unlike in Moravia, Galicia, and other Eastern European Jewish communities, their small settlements did not have the capacity to develop a cultural or ideational alternative to compete with Prague. Urbanization was thus an enabling factor for cultural innovation and the onset of the demographic transition in Bohemia. But while the rabbis, teachers, and wealthiest members of the Prague community initiated the cultural changes that then spread to rural communities, the fact that the majority of Bohemian Jewry before the mid-nineteenth century lived in rural areas did have a positive impact on their overall mortality through a more favorable environment (fresh water, better hygienic and epidemiological conditions) than the congested and polluted Prague ghetto (Chapter 8). Bohemian Jews were thus ready for the swift demographic transition by the mid-nineteenth century. The 1848 revolution resulted in new civic freedoms for Jews, which produced the empowering impulse. The generations born in the 1830s and 1840s were the first Jewish adolescents and adults who started their careers and studies in a legally unrestricted environment. They were the generations that truly jumpstarted the acceleration of the demographic transition.

Although the specific sequencing of the causal factors discussed in this book is unlikely to be precisely reproduced in other contexts and at other

times, the causal prerequisites for the demographic transition seem to be clear. First, *culture* needs to be open to what lies beyond the local community and to individualism and has to be free of the monopolistic influence of rigid religious orthodoxy. Secondly, this cultural readiness needs to be empowered: through a shift towards *universal secular education* and a *legal framework* that assures the equality of all citizens and the freedom to migrate, and by *socio-economic conditions* that allow individuals to fulfill their career aspirations. These four factors make up the causal constellation that explains why one particular group in time, Bohemian Jews, became one of the historical forerunners of the demographic transition in Europe. The same constellation of factors, possibly at a different pace and differently sequenced, is likely to drive future demographic transitions sometime in the twenty-first century in those societies that are still at the early stage of the transition, such as parts of the Middle East, and most of Sub-Saharan Africa.

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Appendix 1: Sources on population counts of Jews in Bohemia, 1724–1930

Jewish population counts by:	1724/1729	B	M	1754	1762–68	1770–76	1785	1792–94	1828–51	1857	1869	1880	1890	1900	1910	1921	1922/23	1930
	x total																	
	x sex				B	M	M	B	M	P	P	P	M	P	M	P	P	P
	x sex x age				B	M	M						M	M	M	M	M	M
	x sex x age x marital status				B								M					M
	x language of common usage				B								M	M	M			M
	x occupation																	
	x profession																	C
	x size of municipality							B						M	M	M		C
	x ethnicity													M	M	M		M
	x sex x marital status																	M
	Women x age x ever born children in the current marriage																	M

Notes: M – Separate data for Bohemia, Moravia–Silesia; P – data by political districts; B – Bohemia only, A – sum of Austrian Crown lands only, C – Sum of Bohemia, Moravia–Silesia

Year	Source	Publication ^{1, 2}	Note
1724/1729	Jewish population censuses	13, 14	1724: Census of rural Jews, 1729: Census of Prague Jews.
1754	Population census	17	
1762–1768	Population censuses	17	
1770–1776	Population censuses	17	
1785	Population census	17	
1792–1794	Jewish population censuses	2, 14, 20	Jewish population counts are available just in selected years.
1828–1851	Population censuses, published in <i>Tafeln zur Statistik der Oesterreichischen Monarchie</i>		
1857	Population census	17	
1869	Population census	3	
1880	Population census	4	Lepař (1900, 1925)
1890	Population census	5	
1900	Population census	6	
1910	Population census	7	
1921	Population census	16	
1922/23	unknown	18	
1930	Population census	15	

1: “Publication” indicate a source from which the data were taken for use in this book.

2: Number corresponds to the reference under the same number from “References: Data Sources.”

Appendix 2: Sources on vital statistics of Jews in Bohemia, 1785–1940

Events	1785–1821	1832–59	1858–94	1861–70	1863–1881	1881–94	1895–96	1897	1898–99	1900	1901–02	1903	1904	1905–06	1907	1908–09	1910	1911–12	1913	1919–28	1928–37	1938–40
<u>Marriage</u> – total	M	M																				
incl. heterogamous					M																	
<u>Births</u> – total	M	M	M	M	M	M																
x legitimacy x vitality																						
x sex							P	M	P	P	P		P		P	P	P	P	P	M	M	N
<u>Deaths</u> – total	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M												
x sex																						
x sex x age group				M																		
x sex x cause of deaths																						
x sex x suicide																						
<u>Divorce</u>																M	M	M	M	M	R	N
x sex																						
x type of separation																						
																				M	R	N

Notes: M – Separate data for Bohemia, Moravia–Silesia; P – Data by political districts; R – Sum for Czechoslovakia; N – Data for Protectorate Bohemia and Moravia without German citizens

Year	Source	Publication ^{1,2}	Note
1785–1821	Population registers predecessors of more detailed Tafeln.	17	
1832–1859	Population registers published in Tafeln.	17	Jewish vital statistics events are available just in selected years.
1858–1894	Estimates based on population registers	8	
1861–1870	Unknown		Schrimmer (1873)
1863–1881	Statistical yearbook	19	Jewish vital statistics events are available just in selected years.
1881–1913	Vital Statistics	1	
1919–1937	Vital Statistics	10, 12	
1938–1940	Vital Statistics	11	Without persons of German nationality.

Note 1: “Publication” indicates a source from which the data were taken for the use in this book.

Note 2: Number corresponds to the reference under the same number from “References: Data Sources.”

Appendix 3: Time series of vital statistics and population counts, Jews in Bohemia, 1785–1940.

	Marriages	Jews+Jew F	Jews+Jew M	Divorced	Jew F	Jew M	Births		Female	Male	Births		Legitimacy of births	Illegitimate	Total	Stillbirths	Female	Male	Deaths	Deaths	Estimate	population	Total	Estimate: population
Year	Homogamous						Total				Estimate	Legitimate							Total					
1785	(17)						(17)												1,242			(17)	42,129	
1786	265						1,453												838					
1787	236						1,338												826					
1790	264						1,226												1,029					
1791	121						1,047												1,001					
1791	216						1,008												754					
1792	189						1,189												667			(2, 14)		
1793	154						1,067				(a)								758		(b)	46,691		
1798	186						1,008				1,651													
1799	285						895				1,711								884					
1800	307						1,041				1,723								994			(17)		(c)
1801	324						1,017				1,735								807			47,865	49,944	
1802	254						1,106				1,747								784					50,427
1803	284						1,176				1,760								879					50,915
1805	277										1,772											(8)		
1806	243						1,054				1,798								1,014			49361	51,407	
							1,069				1,811								1,287			1,280	52,406	
																						1,296	52,913	
																						1,304		

	Marriages	Jews+Jew F	Jews+Jew M	Divorced	Jew M	Births	Births	Female	Male	Stillbirths	Female	Male	Deaths	Deaths	Total	Estimate	population	Total
Year	Homogamous					Total	Estimate							Total				
1844	319					1,841	2,372							1,175	1,642		76,272	
1845	256					1,885	2,389							1,356	1,652		77,010	
1846	243					1,851	2,406							1,310	1,661	70,037	77,754	
1847	208					1,761	2,423							1,245	1,671		78,506	
1848	188					1,747	2,441							1,302	1,681		79,265	
1849	1,411					1,440	2,458							1,098	1,691		80,032	
1850	1,026					1,740	2,475							1,589	1,702		80,806	
1851	924					2,307	2,493							1,326	1,712	75,459	81,587	
1852	763					2,684	2,511							1,396	1,722		82,376	
1853	562					2,716	2,529							1,473	1,732		83,172	
1854	436					2,494	2,547							1,344	1,743		83,976	
1855	384					2,579	2,565							1,670	1,753		84,788	
1856	430					2,557	2,583							1,697	1,763	(3)	85,608	
1857	464					(8) 2,601	2,602							1,433	1,774	86,436		
1858	514					2,697								(8) 1,436				
1859	477					2,641								1,280				
1860	606					2,572								1,319				
1861	531					2,543								1,366				
1862	462					2,575								1,478				
1863	519					2,505								1,552				

Year	Marriages	Jews+Jew F	Jews+Jew M	Divorced	Jew M	Births	Female	Male	Births	Estimate	Legitimate	Illegitimate	Total	Stillbirths	Female	Male	Deaths	Deaths	Estimate	population	Total	Total
1892	673					2,230												1,451				93,959
1893	720					2,106												1,330				93,785
1894	655					2,136												1,229				93,612
1895	684					(1)					(1)	(1)	(1)					(1)				
1896	713					2,060					1,925	47	88					1455				93,439
1897	676					2,127					2,006	42	79					1,482				93,265
1898	670					2,048					1,918	32	98					1,474				93,092
1899	681					1,986					1,864	42	80					1,422				92,918
						1,860					1,753	40	67					1,490			(6)	
1900	665					1,714					1,616	39	59					1,531			92,745	
1901	712					1,692					1,607	38	47					1,363				
1902	641					1,650					1,587	32	31					1,348				
1903	682																					
1904	613					1,473					1,414	31	28					1,446				
1905	679																					
1906	645																					
1907	681					1,266					1,211	29	26					1,249				
1908	640					1,286																
1909	674					1,232																
1910	723					1,140					1,056	47	37					1,157			85,798	85,251

Notes:

Attention, some of the data from before 1850, are heavily underestimated. Do not draw conclusions from time series without taking into account the data reliability (commented on in Chapter 3).

- (a) Author's estimate, explained in Chapter 7.
- (b) Author's estimate, explained in Chapter 8.
- (c) Author's estimate, explained in Chapter 4.
- (d) Author's estimate based on intercensal linear interpolation.
- (e) Source: Lepař (1900, 1925)

In the column "Birth" are live births since 1869.

F stand for female, M for male

Marriages "Jews+Jews F" and "Jews+Jew M" indicated a sum of homogenous Jewish and marriages where just a woman (or man respectively) is of Jewish denomination.

Source: Number in the brackets corresponds to a data source under the same number in "References: Data Sources." The same source applies to all the following data in the time series until another source is indicated.

Appendix 4: Methodology used by Jan Heřman to estimate births and deaths between 1858 and 1894

On the methodology he used to estimate births and deaths, Jan Heřman (n.d.) wrote:

“Unlike the statistical material on Jewish weddings, the data on births in 1858–1894 are not documented by religion. This gap in the official statistics is all the more significant given the fact that this is the period following the abolition of legislation restricting Jewish marriages, a period that then saw momentous developments in natality trends. Because it was impossible to find statistics, published or unpublished, on Jewish births in the Czech lands, the gap had to be filled using data from Jewish birth and death registers. The only exception is the *Statistical Yearbook of the City of Prague* (*Statistická ročenka hl.m. Prahy*), which, starting in 1871, published the number of births in Prague by religion. But even for Prague information on the years before 1871 had to be sought in birth registers.

Not all the Jewish birth registers in Bohemia have survived. Only 64 Jewish communities have complete sets of birth registers from 1857 to 1895. Compared to the information on Jewish births published in official statistics, the data from these birth registers capture 32.1% of all Jewish births in 1857 and 46.7% of all Jewish births in 1895. The birth registers that have survived in Bohemia thus capture a relatively large percentage of Jewish births and can be used for further demographic calculations. When data from Jewish birth registers before 1858 and after 1894 are compared to data from official statistics, it is apparent that the available Jewish birth registers represent a sample of the Jewish population whose geographic structure differed from that of the Jewish population in Bohemia as a whole. Therefore, in order to calculate the total number of Jewish births based on data from these birth registers, I decided it was necessary to analyze the geographic structure of the sample formed by birth register data against the geographic distribution of Jews in Bohemia as a whole (with the help of the available data from 1857 and 1895). This analysis showed that it is necessary to divide the surviving birth registers into three groups: (a) birth registers from Prague’s Jewish community; (b) birth registers from large Jewish communities, usually in big towns with Jewish settlements that in most cases formed after 1849; (c) birth registers from rural Jewish communities that in most cases existed before 1849. Because of the difference between the geographic structure of the Jewish population in Bohemia and that represented by the Jewish communities with surviving birth registers, a coefficient needs to be calculated that can balance development for Bohemia as a whole with the sample obtained from surviving birth registers.

The rationale setting the coefficients is based on the finding that Jewish communities in large towns and in Prague experienced a general population boom, while rural Jewish communities were affected by regressive population change. These two trends also shaped Jewish natality trends in Bohemia as a whole, but in a different proportion than in the sample obtained from surviving birth registers.

In order to formulate an equation that could express the relationship between development in Bohemia as a whole and development in the sample obtained from the birth registers, I took into account that the birth registers from the Prague Jewish community and from the Jewish communities in large towns survived almost in full, that they reflect the situation in such communities for Bohemia as a whole, and that there is no need to manipulate these data, and by contrast that the birth register data from small Jewish communities did not survive in full and that they must therefore be multiplied by a coefficient that

can compensate for the number of unknown data for this type of Jewish community. Assuming that population development was roughly similar across these small Jewish communities, this relationship can be expressed in the following equation:

$$c = a + bx \quad (1)$$

where c equals the total number of Jewish births in Bohemia, a is the number of Jewish births in large communities and in Prague, b is the number of Jewish births in small communities based on the sample obtained from the birth registers, x is a coefficient compensating for the difference between the number of births recorded in the birth registers and the number of Jewish births in Bohemia as a whole.

Based on this equation, coefficient x can be precisely calculated for the years before 1858 and after 1894, when both the data for the number of Jewish births in Bohemia as a whole and the Jewish birth register data have survived as a whole, based on the equation:

$$x = (c - a) / b$$

A comparison of coefficients x before 1858 and after 1894 shows that coefficient x increased between 1858 and 1894. The assumption is that this coefficient was growing linearly in the period between 1858 and 1894. On this basis, it was possible to calculate coefficient x for the years 1858–1894 from the known coefficients x for the period before 1858 and after 1894 based on the following equation:

$$x_1 = (c - a) / b, \quad x_2 = x_1 + 1 * ((x_n - x_1) / n), \quad \dots, \quad x_n = x_1 + n - 1 * ((x_n - x_1) / n)$$

Adding these coefficients into equation (1) gives us the estimated number of Jewish births in each year between 1858 and 1894 in Bohemia. In Moravia, not enough Jewish birth registers survived in order for them to be used to calculate data on Jewish births for Moravia as a whole.

As regards the number of Jewish deaths, the gap in official statistics between 1858 and 1894 was supplemented using the same Jewish registers as for the births data and using the same mathematical approaches.”

Appendix 5: Population structure by age, sex, and marital status, Jews and total population, 1764–1765, 1890, and 1930

1764–1765 Absolute figures

Jews	Male single	Married/ widowed	Total	Female single	Married/ widowed	Total
0–14	6,223	0	6,223	6,053	0	6,053
15–19	1,945	0	1,945	1,565	0	1,565
20–39	1,102	3,774	4,876	874	3,590	4,464
40–49	200	1,652	1,852	253	1,381	1,634
50+	262	1,186	1,447	347	962	1,309

Total population	Male single	Married/ widowed	Total	Female single	Married/ widowed	Total
0–14	342,220	0	342,220	347,185	0	347,185
15–19	106,752	0	106,752	118,197	0	118,197
20–39	86,869	182,622	269,491	105,907	194,859	300,766
40–49	21,045	105,955	127,000	34,271	99,269	133,540
50+	23,061	84,469	107,530	45,588	73,538	119,126

1890 Absolute figures

Jews	Males single	Married	Widowed, divorced	Total	Females single	Married	Widowed, divorced	Total
0-10	11,031	0	0	11,031	10,913	0	0	10,913
11-20	9,413	3	0	9,416	9,444	112	6	9,562
21-30	5,856	1,260	14	7,130	4,373	3,628	104	8,105
31-40	1,738	4,947	71	6,756	1,508	4,896	242	6,646
41-50	593	4,107	98	4,798	505	3,411	665	4,581
51-60	193	2,812	218	3,223	324	2,465	914	3,703
61-70	112	2,050	412	2,574	237	1,255	1,208	2,700
71-80	55	870	427	1,352	112	397	912	1,421
81-90	7	127	138	272	24	27	206	257
91+	0	1	12	13	2	1	13	16
Total	28,998	16177	1,390	46,565	27,442	16,192	4,270	47,904

Total population	Male single	Married	Widowed, divorced	Total	Female single	Married	Widowed, divorced	Total
0-10	745,847	0	0	745,847	745,426	0	0	745,426
11-20	561,175	62	2	561,239	575,952	10,983	141	587,076
21-30	267,172	148,886	1,994	418,052	218,543	237,560	5,328	461,431
31-40	55,199	308,631	6,069	369,899	59,334	314,587	19,344	393,265
41-50	21,824	261,608	9,848	293,280	34,011	247,658	42,487	324,156
51-60	12,487	189,476	17,167	219,130	26,666	159,544	70,630	256,840
61-70	7,467	108,338	26,440	142,245	18,041	72,900	81,522	172,463
71-80	3,206	35,853	23,591	62,650	7,350	15,781	46,187	69,318
81-90	525	3,422	5,420	9,367	1,131	956	8,598	10,685
91+	43	48	189	280	77	28	340	445
Celkem	1,674,945	1,056,324	90,720	2,821,989	1,686,531	1,059,997	274,577	3,021,105

1890 Relative figures

Jews	Males single	Married	Widowed, divorced	Total	Females single	Married	Widowed, divorced	Total
0-10	1,000	0	0	1,000	1,000	0	0	1,000
11-20	1,000	0	0	1,000	988	12	1	1,000
21-30	821	177	2	1,000	540	448	13	1,000
31-40	257	732	11	1,000	227	737	36	1,000
41-50	124	856	20	1,000	110	745	145	1,000
51-60	60	872	68	1,000	87	666	247	1,000
61-70	44	796	160	1,000	88	465	447	1,000
71-80	41	643	316	1,000	79	279	642	1,000
81-90	26	467	507	1,000	93	105	802	1,000
91+	0	76,9	923	1,000	125	63	813	1,000
Total	623	347	30	1,000	573	338	89	1,000

Total population	Male single	Married	Widowed, divorced	Total	Female single	Married	Widowed, divorced	Total
0-10	1,000	0	0	1,000	1,000	0	0	1,000
11-20	1,000	01	0	1,000	981	19	0	1,000
21-30	639	356	5	1,000	474	515	12	1,000
31-40	149	834	16	1,000	151	800	49	1,000
41-50	74	892	34	1,000	105	764	131	1,000
51-60	57	865	78	1,000	104	621	275	1,000
61-70	52	762	186	1,000	105	423	473	1,000
71-80	51	572	377	1,000	106	228	666	1,000
81-90	56	365	579	1,000	106	89	805	1,000
91+	154	171	675	1,000	173	63	764	1,000
Celkem	594	374	32	1,000	558	351	91	1,000

1930 Absolute figures

Jews	Males		Married	Widowed	Divorced		Unknown	Total	Females single	Married	Widowed	Divorced	Unknown	Total	Females single	Married	Widowed	Divorced	Unknown	Total
	single																			
Bohemia																				
Age																				
0-4	1,628	0	0	0	0	0	0	1,628	1,526	0	0	0	0	1,628	1,526	0	0	0	0	1,526
5-9	2,041	0	0	0	0	0	0	2,041	1,975	0	0	0	0	2,041	1,975	0	0	0	0	1,975
10-14	1,384	0	0	0	0	0	0	1,384	1,418	0	0	0	0	1,384	1,418	0	0	0	0	1,418
15-19	2,596	2	0	0	0	0	0	2,598	2,274	37	0	0	0	2,598	2,274	37	0	0	0	2,311
20-24	4,266	76	0	1	1	1	0	4,344	2,317	742	1	9	0	4,344	2,317	742	1	5	0	3,074
25-29	2,738	706	3	18	3	2	1	3,467	1,304	1,841	15	39	0	3,467	1,304	1,841	15	28	1	3,228
30-34	1,561	1,634	3	42	3	18	0	3,258	856	2,319	58	77	0	3,258	856	2,319	58	41	1	3,352
35-39	787	2,114	15	44	15	27	3	2,987	686	2,410	117	67	0	2,987	686	2,410	117	34	0	3,314
40-44	523	2,225	23	42	23	25	2	2,838	605	2,217	209	67	0	2,838	605	2,217	209	43	2	3,143
45-49	405	2,231	35	51	35	22	0	2,744	482	2,021	375	62	0	2,744	482	2,021	375	28	1	2,969
50-54	256	2,164	48	49	48	19	1	2,536	435	1,857	570	44	0	2,536	435	1,857	570	26	0	2,932
55-59	243	1,789	93	28	93	16	4	2,169	319	1,302	741	31	0	2,169	319	1,302	741	10	0	2,403
60-64	158	1,553	152	14	152	6	2	1,883	323	978	895	23	0	1,883	323	978	895	9	0	2,228
65-69	122	1,132	248	17	248	10	0	1,529	217	634	951	7	0	1,529	217	634	951	4	0	1,813
70-74	63	813	285	8	285	1	0	1,170	174	358	910	10	0	1,170	174	358	910	4	0	1,456
75-79	42	392	262	1	262	1	0	697	90	115	652	1	0	697	90	115	652	1	0	859
80-84	11	98	122	1	122	1	0	232	42	31	303	0	0	232	42	31	303	1	0	377
85-89	3	15	62	0	62	0	0	80	14	2	119	0	0	80	14	2	119	1	0	136
90-94	1	0	15	0	15	0	0	16	2	1	31	0	0	16	2	1	31	0	0	34
95+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
Total	18,828	16,944	1,366	316	147	0	0	37,601	15,059	16,865	5,953	437	0	37,601	15,059	16,865	5,953	235	5	38,554

Total population	Males		Married	Widowed	Divorced	Disolved	Unknown	Total	Females	single	Married	Widowed	Divorced	Disolved	Unknown	Total
	single	single														
Bohemia																
Age																
0-4	288,202	0	0	0	0	0	0	288,202	281,604	0	0	0	0	0	0	281,604
5-9	322,932	0	0	0	0	0	0	322,932	316,173	0	0	0	0	0	0	316,173
10-14	202,621	0	0	0	0	0	0	202,621	197,392	2	0	0	0	0	0	197,394
15-19	321,383	96	0	0	0	0	13	321,493	307,166	8,627	25	32	10	10	12	315,872
20-24	321,082	35,662	155	128	29	29	74	357,130	234,856	118,390	683	817	431	57	57	355,234
25-29	158,470	180,059	1,077	1,422	626	626	74	341,728	109,698	221,586	2,894	2,551	1,573	55	55	338,357
30-34	57,175	229,213	2,027	2,806	1,518	1,518	65	292,804	62,708	240,283	6,626	3,496	2,488	76	76	315,677
35-39	25,092	202,671	2,206	2,576	1,525	1,525	64	234,134	43,366	211,308	13,201	3,181	2,549	34	34	273,639
40-44	16,031	183,125	2,960	2,368	1,492	1,492	54	206,030	30,390	179,473	24,985	2,870	2,295	48	48	240,061
45-49	12,019	171,670	4,464	2,187	1,351	1,351	49	191,740	22,554	158,358	34,246	2,375	1,837	37	37	219,407
50-54	10,049	157,039	7,115	1,852	1,122	1,122	61	177,238	18,462	135,507	41,924	1,767	1,392	31	31	199,083
55-59	8,378	135,654	11,276	1,289	922	922	44	157,563	15,150	109,214	48,852	1,227	1,044	37	37	175,524
60-64	6,285	104,889	15,727	870	631	631	47	128,449	12,029	77,341	53,837	729	653	42	42	144,631
65-69	4,595	72,818	19,612	467	366	366	28	97,886	9,182	47,826	55,439	365	330	29	29	113,171
70-74	2,838	44,809	21,230	242	207	207	46	69,372	6,681	25,675	53,005	151	173	37	37	85,722
75-79	1,273	19,859	16,916	90	65	65	17	38,220	3,504	9,400	36,729	63	67	15	15	49,778
80-84	508	6,175	9,144	28	28	28	17	15,900	1,540	2,266	18,975	15	12	16	16	22,824
85-89	112	1,294	3,137	7	5	5	4	4,559	452	338	6,380	2	2	5	5	7,179
90-94	24	155	591	1	1	1	1	771	90	34	1,217	0	1	4	4	1,346
95+	6	22	35	1	1	1	1	64	10	6	176	0	0	0	0	192
Total	1,759,075	1,545,210	117,672	16,334	9,887	9,887	658	3,448,836	1,673,007	1,545,634	399,194	1,9641	1,4857	535	535	3,652,868

1930 Relative figures

Jews Age	Males		Married	Widowed	Divorced	Females		Total	Unknown	Disolved	Divorced	Widowed	Married	Total	Unknown	Disolved	Total
	single	single				single	single										
0-4	1,000	0	0	0	0	0	43	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	39
5-9	1,000	0	0	0	0	0	54	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	51
10-14	1,000	0	0	0	0	0	37	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	37
15-19	999	1	0	0	0	0	69	0	0	0	0	0	16	0	0	0	60
20-24	982	17	0	0	0	0	115	0	0	0	3	0	241	0	2	0	80
25-29	790	204	1	1	5	0	92	0	0	0	12	5	570	0	9	0	84
30-34	479	502	1	1	13	0	86	0	0	0	23	17	692	0	12	0	87
35-39	263	708	5	5	15	0	79	0	1	0	20	35	727	0	10	0	86
40-44	184	784	8	8	15	0	75	0	1	0	21	66	705	0	14	1	81
45-49	148	813	13	13	19	0	73	0	0	0	21	126	681	0	9	0	77
50-54	101	853	19	19	19	0	67	0	0	0	15	194	633	0	9	0	76
55-59	112	825	43	43	13	0	58	0	2	0	13	308	542	0	4	0	62
60-64	84	825	81	81	7	0	50	0	1	0	10	402	439	0	4	0	58
65-69	80	740	162	162	11	0	41	0	0	0	4	525	350	0	2	0	47
70-74	54	695	244	244	7	0	31	0	0	0	7	625	246	0	3	0	38
75-79	60	562	376	376	1	0	19	0	0	0	1	759	134	0	1	0	22
80-84	47	422	526	526	4	0	6	0	0	0	0	804	82	0	3	0	10
85-89	38	188	775	775	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	875	15	0	7	0	4
90-94	63	0	938	938	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	912	29	0	0	0	1
95+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1,000	0	0	0	0	0
Total	501	451	36	36	8	0	1,000	0	0	0	11	154	437	0	6	0	1,000

Relative

Total population		Males single	Married	Widowed	Divorced			Unknown	Total	Females single	Married	Widowed	Divorced			Unknown	Total
Bohemia	Age					Disolved								Disolved			
	0-4	1,000	0	0	0	0	0	0	83	1,000	0	0	0	0	0	0	77
	5-9	1,000	0	0	0	0	0	0	94	1,000	0	0	0	0	0	0	86
	10-14	1,000	0	0	0	0	0	0	59	1,000	0	0	0	0	0	0	54
	15-19	1,000	0	0	0	0	0	0	93	972	27	0	0	0	0	0	86
	20-24	899	100	0	0	0	0	0	103	661	333	2	2	1	0	0	97
	25-29	464	527	3	4	2	0	0	99	324	655	9	8	5	0	0	93
	30-34	195	783	7	10	5	0	0	85	199	761	21	11	8	0	0	86
	35-39	107	866	9	11	7	0	0	68	158	772	48	12	9	0	0	75
	40-44	78	889	14	11	7	0	0	60	127	748	104	12	10	0	0	66
	45-49	63	895	23	11	7	0	0	56	103	722	156	11	8	0	0	60
	50-54	57	886	40	10	6	0	0	51	93	681	211	9	7	0	0	54
	55-59	53	861	72	8	6	0	0	46	86	622	278	7	6	0	0	48
	60-64	49	817	122	7	5	0	0	37	83	535	372	5	5	0	0	40
	65-69	47	744	200	5	4	0	0	28	81	423	490	3	3	0	0	31
	70-74	41	646	306	3	3	1	0	20	78	300	618	2	2	0	0	23
	75-79	33	520	443	2	2	0	0	11	70	189	738	1	1	0	0	14
	80-84	32	388	575	2	2	1	1	5	67	99	831	1	1	1	1	6
	85-89	25	284	688	2	1	1	1	1	63	47	889	0	0	1	1	2
	90-94	31	201	767	0	0	1	1	0	67	25	904	0	1	3	0	0
	95+	94	344	547	16	0	0	0	0	52	31	917	0	0	0	0	0
	Total	510	448	34	5	3	0	0	1,000	458	423	109	5	4	0	0	1,000

Source: Census 1764 and 1765 (from Sekyra 1978), census 1890 and 1930, author's computations.

Appendix 6 A: Coale indices of fertility, Jews in Bohemia and selected countries, 1890–1930

		1890	1900	1910	1930
Jews Bohemia	If	0.292	—	—	0.089
	Ig	0.505	—	—	0.158
	Im	0.578	—	—	0.563
Bohemia	If (c)	0.378	0.365	0.299	0.172
	Ig	0.640	0.609	0.492	0.280
	Im	0.512	0.522	0.532	0.613
Slovakia (a)	If	0.437	0.438	0.394	<i>0.264</i>
	Ig	0.647	0.67	0.6	<i>0.428</i>
	Im	0.613	0.598	0.605	<i>0.604</i>
Ruthenia (b)	If	0.484	0.464	0.392	<i>0.391</i>
	Ig	0.624	0.608	0.53	<i>0.568</i>
	Im	0.711	0.703	0.673	<i>0.626</i>
Lower Austria (d)	If	0.327	0.302	0.224	0.152
	Ig	0.598	0.543	0.397	0.238
	Im	0.405	0.422	0.440	0.495
Vienna (e)	If	0.327	0.302	0.224	0.051
	Ig	0.598	0.543	0.397	0.086
	Im	0.405	0.422	0.440	0.459

a) 1890, 1900, 1910 only Pozsony (Bratislava) region, 1930 for all Slovakia cited from Šprocha, Tišliar (2008).

b) 1890, 1900, 1910 only Ungvár (Uzhgorod) region; 1930 for all Ruthenia cited from Šprocha, Tišliar (2008).

c) In 1930 the illegitimate births are not included.

d) Data for 1931 for Lower Austria without Vienna.

e) Before 1918 included in Lower Austria.

Bold: own computations without illegitimate births.

Source: Coale, Watkins (1986), Šprocha, Tišliar (2008), author's computations.

Appendix 6 B: Computation of the Coale fertility indices

Following definition cited from Knodel (1974, 33–35):

Index of overall fertility (I_f) measures the extent to which women in a given population approach the number of births they would have if all were subject to the highest schedule of age-specific fertility on reliable record (standard schedule): the fertility of married Hutterite women in 1921–1930. The equation is as follows, where B is the annual number of births to all women in a given period, w_i is the number of women in each age group interval (for Jews in Bohemia in 1890 ten-year interval and in 1830 five-year interval) from 15 through 49, and F_i is the fertility of married Hutterite women in each age interval.

Index of marital fertility (I_g) indicates how closely married women approach the number of births they would produce if they experienced the Hutterite fertility. Thus, where B_L is the annual number of legitimate births and m_i is the number of married women in each five-year/ten-year age interval.

Index of the proportion of married among women in childbearing ages (I_m) compares the number of children a married woman would bear if experiencing the Hutterites' marital fertility rates to the number all women would bear if subject to the same fertility schedule. This is an index of the extent to which the marital status distribution would contribute to the attainment of maximal fertility in a population in which all births were to married women.

The three indexes described above are related in such a manner that

$$I_f = I_g \times I_m$$

Thus when we neglect here illegitimacy, the level of overall fertility can be expressed as the product of marital fertility and proportion married.

The standard schedule of births per married woman per year in each age group (cited from Henry 1961, 84), Hutterite women in 1921–1930:

20–24	0.550
25–29	0.502
30–34	0.447
35–39	0.406
40–44	0.222
45–49	0.061

Appendix 7: Married women by age, number of live-born children in the current marriage, nationality/religion/country of Czechoslovakia, 1930

A. Absolute numbers

Bohemia: Total population

Age	Total number of		Share of married women with number of children					5+	Unknown
	married women	their children	0	1	2	3	4		
-19	8,629	3,976	4,841	3,279	309	19	3	2	175
20-24	118,390	96,607	43,435	53,673	16,007	2,810	491	99	1,866
25-29	221,586	287,231	50,634	86,914	54,284	18,561	5,729	2,447	3,014
30-34	240,283	425,255	40,408	69,288	68,844	33,708	14,714	10,336	2,994
35-39	211,308	461,332	31,712	46,733	55,947	34,761	19,185	20,196	2,767
40-44	179,473	476,488	25,680	31,077	39,724	30,223	19,561	30,616	2,593
45-49	158,358	502,744	21,278	21,450	28,833	24,985	19,131	40,481	2,198
50-59	244,721	946,639	32,191	23,909	33,665	33,271	29,091	89,059	3,536
60-69	125,167	557,394	16,329	9,377	13,060	14,153	13,696	56,206	2,345
70-79	35,075	163,144	4,732	2,272	3,296	3,595	3,548	16,763	880
80+	2,644	11,657	404	184	227	211	288	1,241	89
Unknown	1,710	4,122	304	359	340	204	114	289	101
Total	1,547,344	3,936,589	271,948	348,515	314,536	196,501	125,551	267,735	22,558

Bohemia: Jewish denomination

Age	Total number of		Share of married women with number of children					5+	Unknown
	married women	their children	0	1	2	3	4		
-19	37	7	29	7				0	1
20-24	742	321	428	243	36	2		0	33
25-29	1,841	1,480	675	777	295	28	6	1	59
30-34	2,319	2,747	546	913	671	112	25	11	41
35-39	2,410	3,365	478	789	805	226	40	19	53
40-44	2,217	3,504	422	585	752	265	84	43	66
45-49	2,021	3,624	380	435	639	296	128	83	60
50-59	3,159	7,057	561	494	807	587	319	310	81
60-69	1,612	5,143	213	157	267	272	234	422	47
70-79	473	1,892	57	35	53	67	58	186	17
80+	34	150	5	1	3	2	3	19	1
Unknown	41	63	9	13	12	2	2	2	1
Total	16,906	29,353	3,803	4,449	4,340	1,859	899	1,096	460

Moravia and Silesia: Jewish denomination

Age	Total number of		Share of married women with number of children					5+	Unknown
	married women	their children	0	1	2	3	4		
-19	25	8	17	8				0	
20-24	380	173	220	128	18			0	11
25-29	974	871	315	429	171	21	7	1	30
30-34	1,220	1,499	290	424	379	70	15	9	33
35-39	1,152	1,754	221	322	387	143	40	12	27
40-44	1,181	2,119	209	260	386	190	59	49	28
45-49	1,078	2,256	183	188	328	192	99	70	18
50-59	1,780	4,742	283	211	433	313	215	289	36
60-69	873	3,012	113	75	124	170	113	256	22
70-79	270	1,079	33	17	34	42	28	104	12
80+	28	144	5	1	2	1	2	17	
Unknown	18	48	2	4	5	2	3	2	
Total	8,979	17,705	1,891	2,067	2,267	1,147	581	809	217

Slovakia: Jewish denomination

Age	Total number of		Share of married women with number of children					5+	Unknown
	married women	their children	0	1	2	3	4		
-19	87	30	62	17	3	1	1	0	3
20-24	1,696	1,199	789	629	189	38	17	2	32
25-29	3,644	4,671	1,008	1,260	801	308	136	62	69
30-34	4,430	8,835	749	1,124	1,139	617	362	377	62
35-39	3,690	9,485	563	637	878	572	343	629	68
40-44	3,347	11,077	480	405	653	472	358	919	60
45-49	2,957	11,542	394	271	422	413	344	1,068	45
50-59	4,540	20,003	603	288	499	542	518	2,007	83
60-69	2,357	11,665	323	128	185	216	238	1,223	44
70-79	664	3,631	88	31	38	45	58	391	13
80+	67	284	17	7	6	6	5	31	2
Unknown	33	82	7	7	4	3	2	7	3
Total	27,512	82,504	5,083	4,797	4,817	3,233	2,382	6,716	484

Ruthenia: Jewish denomination

Age	Total number of		Share of married women with number of children					5+	Unknown
	married women	their children	0	1	2	3	4		
-19	102	41	62	29	6			0	5
20-24	1,545	1,758	520	530	301	114	36	25	19
25-29	2,924	6,087	519	626	686	488	320	241	44
30-34	3,116	10,417	335	310	470	480	517	958	46
35-39	2,363	10,301	187	196	266	267	290	1,122	35
40-44	2,059	11,537	155	101	153	172	175	1,263	40
45-49	1,582	9,550	134	63	82	125	130	1,020	28
50-59	2,430	15,570	235	104	112	128	153	1,662	36
60-69	1,410	9,131	182	53	47	55	70	969	34
70-79	364	2,387	53	9	8	20	21	242	11
80+	27	187	5	1	1			18	2
Unknown	27	106	4	2	2	3	3	12	1
Total	17,949	77,072	2,391	2,024	2,134	1,852	1,715	7,532	301

Bohemia: Jewish ethnicity

Age	Total number of		Share of married women with number of children					5+	Unknown
	married women	their children	0	1	2	3	4		
-19	9	3	5	3				0	
20-24	160	67	93	48	8	1		0	1
25-29	439	370	152	192	70	10	2	0	10
30-34	518	599	131	200	158	18	6	1	13
35-39	477	683	105	152	148	43	10	8	4
40-44	347	581	69	88	111	39	15	15	11
45-49	310	573	52	68	90	56	18	14	10
50-59	483	1,243	70	59	117	111	49	66	12
60-69	263	830	33	32	37	48	39	62	11
70-79	59	242	8	4	7	9	6	24	12
80+	3	7			1			1	1
Unknown	3	12			1		1	1	1
Total	3,071	5,210	718	846	748	335	146	192	86

Bohemia: Czechoslovak ethnicity

Age	Total number of		Share of married women with number of children					5+	Unknown
	married women	their children	0	1	2	3	4		
–19	6,859	3,074	3,901	2,590	219	14	1	0	134
20–24	86,175	71,729	30,367	40,165	11,917	2,009	352	56	1,309
25–29	150,612	200,326	31,119	60,003	39,427	12,843	3,775	1,468	1,977
30–34	159,969	285,758	24,695	45,718	48,507	23,207	9,693	6,198	1,951
35–39	141,085	306,732	20,196	30,901	38,820	23,952	12,886	12,531	1,799
40–44	120,094	316,146	16,401	20,805	27,394	20,853	13,252	19,692	1,697
45–49	106,793	337,966	13,825	14,265	19,747	17,275	13,281	26,950	1,450
50–59	160,440	621,887	20,487	15,392	21,935	22,054	19,434	58,777	2,361
60–69	80,631	363,532	10,129	5,821	8,209	9,017	8,792	37,093	1,570
70–79	22,981	108,347	2,972	1,412	2,090	2,348	2,327	11,226	606
80+	1,767	7,779	268	126	136	139	187	839	72
Unknown	1,110	2,653	190	233	227	139	74	179	68
Total	1,038,516	2,625,929	174,550	237,431	218,628	133,850	84,054	175,009	14,994

Bohemia: German ethnicity

Age	Total number of		Share of married women with number of children					5+	Unknown
	married women	their children	0	1	2	3	4		
-19	1,733	884	919	678	89	5	2	1	39
20-24	31,748	24,632	12,820	13,358	4,057	791	139	43	540
25-29	69,788	85,709	19,089	26,497	14,657	5,654	1,924	966	1,001
30-34	78,266	136,664	15,149	22,997	19,838	10,307	4,921	4,089	965
35-39	68,699	152,244	11,115	15,453	16,727	10,636	6,243	7,595	930
40-44	58,427	158,827	9,000	10,076	12,093	9,277	6,261	10,867	853
45-49	50,896	163,578	7,275	7,060	8,929	7,621	5,808	13,480	723
50-59	83,411	322,648	11,510	8,405	11,552	11,059	9,585	30,148	1,152
60-69	44,157	192,702	6,142	3,513	4,798	5,077	4,850	19,021	756
70-79	12,021	54,523	1,748	855	1,196	1,237	1,215	5,510	260
80+	872	3,856	136	58	90	72	100	400	16
Unknown	578	1,426	110	125	111	64	39	106	23
Total	500,596	1,297,693	95,013	109,075	94,137	61,800	41,087	92,226	7,258

Source: Census 1930.

B. Relative numbers in per cent

Bohemia: Total population

Age	Average no. of children live-born to married women	Share of married women with number of children					5+	Unknown	Total
		0	1	2	3	4			
-19	0.46	56.1	38.0	3.6	0.2	0.0	0.0	2.0	100.0
20-24	0.82	36.7	45.3	13.5	2.4	0.4	0.1	1.6	100.0
25-29	1.30	22.9	39.2	24.5	8.4	2.6	1.1	1.4	100.0
30-34	1.77	16.8	28.8	28.7	14.0	6.1	4.3	1.2	100.0
35-39	2.18	15.0	22.1	26.5	16.5	9.1	9.6	1.3	100.0
40-44	2.65	14.3	17.3	22.1	16.8	10.9	17.1	1.4	100.0
45-49	3.17	13.4	13.5	18.2	15.8	12.1	25.6	1.4	100.0
50-59	3.87	13.2	9.8	13.8	13.6	11.9	36.4	1.4	100.0
60-69	4.45	13.0	7.5	10.4	11.3	10.9	44.9	1.9	100.0
70-79	4.65	13.5	6.5	9.4	10.2	10.1	47.8	2.5	100.0
80+	4.41	15.3	7.0	8.6	8.0	10.9	46.9	3.4	100.0
Unknown	2.41	17.8	21.0	19.9	11.9	6.7	16.9	5.9	100.0
Total	2.54	17.6	22.5	20.3	12.7	8.1	17.3	1.5	100.0

Bohemia: Jewish denomination

Age	Average no. of children live-born to married women	Share of married women with number of children						5+	Unknown	Total
		0	1	2	3	4				
-19	0.19	78.4	18.9	0.0	0.0	0.0		0.0	2.7	100.0
20-24	0.43	57.7	32.7	4.9	0.3	0.0		0.0	4.4	100.0
25-29	0.80	36.7	42.2	16.0	1.5	0.3		0.1	3.2	100.0
30-34	1.18	23.5	39.4	28.9	4.8	1.1		0.5	1.8	100.0
35-39	1.40	19.8	32.7	33.4	9.4	1.7		0.8	2.2	100.0
40-44	1.58	19.0	26.4	33.9	12.0	3.8		1.9	3.0	100.0
45-49	1.79	18.8	21.5	31.6	14.6	6.3		4.1	3.0	100.0
50-59	2.23	17.8	15.6	25.5	18.6	10.1		9.8	2.6	100.0
60-69	3.19	13.2	9.7	16.6	16.9	14.5		26.2	2.9	100.0
70-79	4.00	12.1	7.4	11.2	14.2	12.3		39.3	3.6	100.0
80+	4.41	14.7	2.9	8.8	5.9	8.8		55.9	2.9	100.0
Unknown	1.54	22.0	31.7	29.3	4.9	4.9		4.9	2.4	100.0
Total	1.74	22.5	26.3	25.7	11.0	5.3		6.5	2.7	100.0

Moravia and Silesia: Jewish denomination

Age	Average no. of children live-born to married women	Share of married women with number of children					5+	Unknown	Total
		0	1	2	3	4			
-19	0.32	68.0	32.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
20-24	0.46	57.9	33.7	4.7	0.8	0.0	0.0	2.9	100.0
25-29	0.89	32.3	44.0	17.6	2.2	0.7	0.1	3.1	100.0
30-34	1.23	23.8	34.8	31.1	5.7	1.2	0.7	2.7	100.0
35-39	1.52	19.2	28.0	33.6	12.4	3.5	1.0	2.3	100.0
40-44	1.79	17.7	22.0	32.7	16.1	5.0	4.1	2.4	100.0
45-49	2.09	17.0	17.4	30.4	17.8	9.2	6.5	1.7	100.0
50-59	2.66	15.9	11.9	24.3	17.6	12.1	16.2	2.0	100.0
60-69	3.45	12.9	8.6	14.2	19.5	12.9	29.3	2.5	100.0
70-79	4.00	12.2	6.3	12.6	15.6	10.4	38.5	4.4	100.0
80+	5.14	17.9	3.6	7.1	3.6	7.1	60.7	0.0	100.0
Unknown	2.67	11.1	22.2	27.8	11.1	16.7	11.1	0.0	100.0
Total	1.97	21.1	23.0	25.2	12.8	6.5	9.0	2.4	100.0

Slovakia: Jewish denomination

Age	Average no. of children live-born to married women	Share of married women with number of children					5+	Unknown	Total
		0	1	2	3	4			
-19	0.34	71.3	19.5	3.4	1.1	1.1	0.0	3.4	100.0
20-24	0.71	46.5	37.1	11.1	2.2	1.0	0.1	1.9	100.0
25-29	1.28	27.7	34.6	22.0	8.5	3.7	1.7	1.9	100.0
30-34	1.99	16.9	25.4	25.7	13.9	8.2	8.5	1.4	100.0
35-39	2.57	15.3	17.3	23.8	15.5	9.3	17.0	1.8	100.0
40-44	3.31	14.3	12.1	19.5	14.1	10.7	27.5	1.8	100.0
45-49	3.90	13.3	9.2	14.3	14.0	11.6	36.1	1.5	100.0
50-59	4.41	13.3	6.3	11.0	11.9	11.4	44.2	1.8	100.0
60-69	4.95	13.7	5.4	7.8	9.2	10.1	51.9	1.9	100.0
70-79	5.47	13.3	4.7	5.7	6.8	8.7	58.9	2.0	100.0
80+	4.24	25.4	0.0	9.0	9.0	7.5	46.3	3.0	100.0
Unknown	2.48	21.2	21.2	12.1	9.1	6.1	21.2	9.1	100.0
Total	3.00	18.5	17.4	17.5	11.8	8.7	24.4	1.8	100.0

Ruthenia: Jewish denomination

Age	Average no. of children live-born to married women	Share of married women with number of children					5+	Unknown	Total
		0	1	2	3	4			
-19	0.40	60.8	28.4	5.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.9	100.0
20-24	1.14	33.7	34.3	19.5	7.4	2.3	1.6	1.2	100.0
25-29	2.08	17.7	21.4	23.5	16.7	10.9	8.2	1.5	100.0
30-34	3.34	10.8	9.9	15.1	15.4	16.6	30.7	1.5	100.0
35-39	4.36	7.9	8.3	11.3	11.3	12.3	47.5	1.5	100.0
40-44	5.60	7.5	4.9	7.4	8.4	8.5	61.3	1.9	100.0
45-49	6.04	8.5	4.0	5.2	7.9	8.2	64.5	1.8	100.0
50-59	6.41	9.7	4.3	4.6	5.3	6.3	68.4	1.5	100.0
60-69	6.48	12.9	3.8	3.3	3.9	5.0	68.7	2.4	100.0
70-79	6.56	14.6	2.5	2.2	5.5	5.8	66.5	3.0	100.0
80+	6.93	18.5	3.7	3.7	0.0	0.0	66.7	7.4	100.0
Unknown	3.93	14.8	7.4	7.4	11.1	11.1	44.4	3.7	100.0
Total	4.29	13.3	11.3	11.9	10.3	9.6	42.0	1.7	100.0

Bohemia: Jewish ethnicity

Age	Average no. of children live-born to married women	Share of married women with number of children					5+	Unknown	Total
		0	1	2	3	4			
-19	0.33	55.6	33.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
20-24	0.42	58.1	30.0	5.0	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.6	100.0
25-29	0.84	34.6	43.7	15.9	2.3	0.5	0.0	2.3	100.0
30-34	1.16	25.3	38.6	30.5	3.5	1.2	0.2	2.5	100.0
35-39	1.43	22.0	31.9	31.0	9.0	2.1	1.7	0.8	100.0
40-44	1.67	19.9	25.4	32.0	11.2	4.3	4.3	3.2	100.0
45-49	1.85	16.8	21.9	29.0	18.1	5.8	4.5	3.2	100.0
50-59	2.57	14.5	12.2	24.2	23.0	10.1	13.7	2.5	100.0
60-69	3.16	12.5	12.2	14.1	18.3	14.8	23.6	4.2	100.0
70-79	4.10	13.6	6.8	11.9	15.3	10.2	40.7	20.3	100.0
80+	2.33	0.0	0.0	33.3	0.0	0.0	33.3	33.3	100.0
Unknown	4.00	0.0	0.0	33.3	0.0	33.3	33.3	33.3	100.0
Total	1.70	23.4	27.5	24.4	10.9	4.8	6.3	2.8	100.0

Bohemia: Czechoslovak ethnicity

Age	Average no. of children live-born to married women	Share of married women with number of children					5+	Unknown	Total
		0	1	2	3	4			
-19	0.45	56.9	37.8	3.2	0.2	0.0	0.0	2.0	100.0
20-24	0.83	35.2	46.6	13.8	2.3	0.4	0.1	1.5	100.0
25-29	1.33	20.7	39.8	26.2	8.5	2.5	1.0	1.3	100.0
30-34	1.79	15.4	28.6	30.3	14.5	6.1	3.9	1.2	100.0
35-39	2.17	14.3	21.9	27.5	17.0	9.1	8.9	1.3	100.0
40-44	2.63	13.7	17.3	22.8	17.4	11.0	16.4	1.4	100.0
45-49	3.16	12.9	13.4	18.5	16.2	12.4	25.2	1.4	100.0
50-59	3.88	12.8	9.6	13.7	13.7	12.1	36.6	1.5	100.0
60-69	4.51	12.6	7.2	10.2	11.2	10.9	46.0	1.9	100.0
70-79	4.71	12.9	6.1	9.1	10.2	10.1	48.8	2.6	100.0
80+	4.40	15.2	7.1	7.7	7.9	10.6	47.5	4.1	100.0
Unknown	2.39	17.1	21.0	20.5	12.5	6.7	16.1	6.1	100.0
Total	2.53	16.8	22.9	21.1	12.9	8.1	16.9	1.4	100.0

Bohemia: German ethnicity

Age	Average no. of children live-born to married women	Share of married women with number of children					5+	Unknown	Total
		0	1	2	3	4			
-19	0.51	53.0	39.1	5.1	0.3	0.1	0.1	2.3	100.0
20-24	0.78	40.4	42.1	12.8	2.5	0.4	0.1	1.7	100.0
25-29	1.23	27.4	38.0	21.0	8.1	2.8	1.4	1.4	100.0
30-34	1.75	19.4	29.4	25.3	13.2	6.3	5.2	1.2	100.0
35-39	2.22	16.2	22.5	24.3	15.5	9.1	11.1	1.4	100.0
40-44	2.72	15.4	17.2	20.7	15.9	10.7	18.6	1.5	100.0
45-49	3.21	14.3	13.9	17.5	15.0	11.4	26.5	1.4	100.0
50-59	3.87	13.8	10.1	13.8	13.3	11.5	36.1	1.4	100.0
60-69	4.36	13.9	8.0	10.9	11.5	11.0	43.1	1.7	100.0
70-79	4.54	14.5	7.1	9.9	10.3	10.1	45.8	2.2	100.0
80+	4.42	15.6	6.7	10.3	8.3	11.5	45.9	1.8	100.0
Unknown	2.47	19.0	21.6	19.2	11.1	6.7	18.3	4.0	100.0
Total	2.59	19.0	21.8	18.8	12.3	8.2	18.4	1.4	100.0

Source: Census 1930.

Appendix 8: Computation of age-standardised crude death rate

Age-standardised crude death rate is expressed as follows:

$$ASCDR^{jst} = \sum \frac{m_x^j \cdot P_x^{st}}{P^{st}} \cdot 100 .$$

In our case we want to compare the CDR (crude death rate) of Jews and the total population in Bohemia in 1930 and control for differences in the age structure between the two populations. We compute the age-standardised crude death rate of the Jewish population $ASCDR^{jst}$ with the age structure of the total population in Bohemia in 1930 as a standard age structure P_x^{st} and age specific death rates m_x^j of Jews in Bohemia in 1930. What we have done by choosing the Bohemian population's age distribution as a standard is simply to weight the age-specific rate schedule in population j not by its own age distribution, but by that of Bohemian population.

Appendix 9: Life table computation and life expectancy of Jews, males and females in 1930

There are several factors that complicate the construction of life tables of Jews in Bohemia in 1930, most notably the small number of deaths in some age groups and consequently the risk of a random deviation that could have a significant effect on the resulting life expectancy. To mitigate the effect of this factor the arithmetical average number of deaths in each age group for the years 1928 to 1930 was used. Unfortunately, data for the adjacent years (e.g., 1929 and 1931) could not be used because the age categories into which deaths were sorted changed in 1931 and cannot be converted to the categories used in 1930. There was also a problem with calculating the mortality coefficients. The probability of dying between ages 0 and 1 (q_0) was calculated as the average number of deaths until the age of one in 1928–1930 per average number of live births in 1928–1930. For the other age categories the average numbers of deaths in 1928–1930 were divided by the population size in each age category from the population census as of 1 December 1930. These indicators were taken as death rates (m_x) and converted to probabilities of dying (q_x).

The life tables of the Jewish population by sex with life expectancy e_x as their output:

Males								
Exact age	m_x	q_x	p_x	l_x	d_x	L_x	T_x	e_x
0	0.0534	0.0534	0.9466	100,000	5,344	96,437	6,057,412	60.6
1	0.0023	0.0092	0.9908	94,656	868	376,886	5,960,975	63.0
5	0.0023	0.0231	0.9769	93,787	2,165	927,046	5,584,089	59.5
15	0.0024	0.0237	0.9763	91,622	2,174	905,351	4,657,043	50.8
25	0.0035	0.0516	0.9484	89,448	4,619	1,307,084	3,751,691	41.9
40	0.0086	0.0824	0.9176	84,830	6,991	813,338	2,444,607	28.8
50	0.0244	0.3090	0.6910	77,838	24,050	987,196	1,631,270	21.0
65	0.0835	1.0000	0.0000	53,788	53,788	644,074	644,073	12.0
Females								
Exact age	m_x	q_x	p_x	l_x	d_x	L_x	T_x	e_x
0	0.0376	0.0376	0.9624	100,000	3,761	97,493	6,520,819	65.2
1	0.0035	0.014	0.986	96,239	1,350	382,256	6,423,326	66.7
5	0.0013	0.0127	0.9873	94,889	1,204	942,869	6,041,071	63.7
15	0.0017	0.0172	0.9828	93,685	1,610	928,799	5,098,202	54.4
25	0.003	0.044	0.956	92,075	4,050	1,350,748	4,169,403	45.3
40	0.007	0.068	0.932	88,025	5,982	850,336	2,818,655	32
50	0.0175	0.2315	0.7685	82,042	18,993	1,088,191	1,968,319	24
65	0.0716	1.000	0	63,050	63,050	880,127	880,127	14

Note: m_x at the age 0 is already q_x

Source: Census 1930, *Vital Statistics* 1928–1930, author's computations.

Age groups	1934–1937			
	Jews		Total population	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
0	13	8	6,173	4,732
1–4	4	3	1,222	1,021
5–14	5	4	1,391	1,250
15–24	11	7	1,686	1,433
25–34	20	18	2,549	2,335
35–44	37	30	3,216	2,631
45–54	76	58	4,558	3,658
55–64	133	98	7,454	6,376
65+	350	392	19,995	22,582
Unknown	0	0	6	1
Total	649	618	48,250	46,019

Age groups	1931–1933			
	Jews		Total population	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
0	12	9	7,592	5,937
1–4	4	3	1,434	1,257
5–14	6	3	1,338	1,292
15–24	13	9	2,184	1,929
25–34	20	15	2,814	2,567
35–44	27	24	3,076	2,695
45–54	66	51	4,544	3,744
55–64	125	86	7,281	6,135
65+	316	363	18,790	21,518
Unknown	0	0	4	5
Total	589	563	49,057	47,079

Source: *Vital Statistics 1919–1937*.

Appendix 11 A and B: Balance between intercensal and natural growth in Bohemia, 1857–1930, and Austrian Crown lands, 1890–1900

A. Balance between intercensal and natural growth in Bohemia 1857–1930

	Vital statistics Birth	Death	Natural increase	Census decade beginning	end	Intercensal growth	Balance between Intercensal and Natural growth	in per cent
1858–1869	31,069	18,095	12,974	86,436	89,539	3,103	-9,871	-11.4
1870–1880	27,526	16,372	11,154	89,539	94,449	4,910	-6,244	-7.0
1881–1890	24,348	15,719	8,629	94,449	94,479	30	-8,599	-9.1
1891–1900	20,518	14,284	6,234	94,479	92,745	-1,734	-7,968	-8.4
1901–1910	13,612	13,061	551	92,745	85,798	-6,947	-7,498	-8.1
1911–1920	unknown	unknown	unknown	85,798	79,777	-6,021	unknown	—
1921–1930	7,152	11,290	-4,138	79,777	76,301	-3,476	662	0.8

* Natural increase is based on estimated numbers of births and deaths from Heřman (n.d.).

Note 1: Vital statistics used in the computation always start by the year following the census (since the censuses were organised in December), e.g. into the balance between 1858–1869, enter data on births and deaths from the years 1858–1869. The exception is the year 1921, when data from that year were included in the period 1921–1930, because the census of 1921 took place in February.

Note 2: Vital statistics data from 1903, 1905, 1906, 1908, and 1909 were not published, and here is used a linear interpolation from the closest available years to estimate the missing data.

Source: *Vital Statistics* 1858–1930, Censuses 1857, 1869, 1880, 1890, 1900, 1910, 1921, 1930, Heřman (n.d.), author's computations.

B. Balance between intercensal and natural growth in Austrian Crown lands 1891–1900

	Vital statistics		Death	Natural increase	Census 31.12. 1890	31.12. 1900	Intercensal growth	Balance between Intercensal and Natural growth	in per cent
	Birth	Austrian Crown lands							
Jews	414,751	228,399		186,352	1,143,305	1,224,899	81,594	-104,758	-9.2
Total population	9,301,351	6,647,615		2,653,736	23,895,413	26,150,708	2,255,295	-398,441	-1.7
	from which Galicia and Bukovina								
Jews Galicia	315,073	166,966		148,107	772,213	811,371	39,158	-108,949	-14.1
Jews Bukovina	26,667	15,516		11,151	82,717	96,150	13,433	2,282	2.8
Jews Bohemia	20,518	14,284		6,234	94,479	92,745	-1,734	-7,968	-8.4
Jews Moravia	10,419	6,458		3,961	45,324	44,255	-1,069	-5,030	-11.1
Jews Silesia	3,521	1,332		2,189	10,042	11,988	1,946	-243	-2.4
Jews other lands	38,553	23,843		14,709	138,530	168,390	29,860	15,151	10.9

Source: *Die Juden in Oesterreich* (1908), Heřman (n.d.), author's computation.

Appendix 12: Population by denomination, ethnicity, and sex in Bohemia and Moravia–Silesia, 1921 and 1930

1921

Bohemia

Denomination	Sex	Ethnicity of Czechoslovak citizens/Foreigners					Foreigners
		Czechoslovak	German	Jewish	Other	Total	
Jewish	Male	17,880	12,368	5,701	417	36,366	2,522
	Female	19,428	13,841	5,455	115	38,839	2,050
	Total	37,308	26,209	11,156	532	75,205	4,572
Without	Male	360,802	8,837	33	114	369,786	1,941
	Female	279,270	5,559	27	180	285,036	1,321
	Total	640,072	14,396	60	294	654,822	3,262
Total population	Male	2,116,881	1,030,139	5,749	6,595	3,159,364	48,272
	Female	2,265,907	1,143,100	5,502	2,952	3,417,461	45,485
	Total	4,382,788	2,173,239	11,251	9,547	6,576,825	93,757

1921

Moravia-Silesia

Denomination	Sex	Ethnicity of Czechoslovak citizens/Foreigners					Foreigners
		Czechoslovak	German	Jewish	Other	Total	
Jewish	Male	3,021	6,444	9,273	178	18,921	3,390
	Female	3,066	7,179	9,682	32	19,967	3,028
	Total	6,087	13,623	18,955	210	38,888	6,418
Without	Male	36,829	959	24	21	37,951	736
	Female	18,756	439	2	18	19,294	450
	Total	55,585	1,398	26	39	57,245	1,186
Total population	Male	1,126,646	374,179	9,312	1,827	1,546,946	47,041
	Female	1,217,974	425,790	9,704	1,695	1,692,228	48,937
	Total	2,344,620	799,969	19,016	3,522	3,239,174	95,978

1930

Bohemia

Denomination	Sex	Ethnicity of Czechoslovak citizens/Foreigners				Present population
		Czechoslovak	German	Jewish	Other	Total
Jewish	Male	17,030	11,152	8,261	1,225	37,668
	Female	18,388	12,508	7,202	535	38,633
	Total	35,418	23,660	15,463	1,760	76,301
Without	Male	375,262	46,197	156	968	422,583
	Female	275,334	30,336	65	529	306,264
	Total	650,596	76,533	221	1,497	728,847
Total population	Male	2,305,677	1,112,505	8,425	25,516	3,452,123
	Female	2,426,393	1,213,585	7,272	10,003	3,657,253
	Total	4,732,070	2,326,090	15,697	35,519	7,109,376

1930

Moravia-Silesia

Denomination	Sex	Ethnicity of Czechoslovak citizens/Foreigners				Present population
		Czechoslovak	German	Jewish	Other	Total
Jewish	Male	3,749	5,601	10,832	560	20,742
	Female	3,502	6,396	10,483	127	20,508
	Total	7,251	11,997	21,315	687	41,250
Without	Male	61,871	5,017	65	542	67,495
	Female	34,765	2,708	15	314	37,802
	Total	96,636	7,725	80	856	105,297
Total population	Male	1,269,332	388,949	10,897	52,773	1,721,951
	Female	1,347,637	434,781	10,499	50,142	1,843,059
	Total	2,616,969	823,730	21,396	102,915	3,565,010

Source: *Náboženské vyznání obyvatelstva podle výsledků sčítání lidu v letech 1921–1991* [Population by religion in the censuses 1921–1991], ČSÚ, Praha 1995.

Appendix 13: Computation of the Concentration Index of Industrial Activity

The Concentration Index for the industrial sector j (I_j) was computed as follows (Don 1990,; 152): Let Jews working in industry be J_i and those working in a particular industrial sector J_{ij} and the total population working in industry and its particular segment G_i and G_{ij} respectively, then:

$$I_j = \frac{\frac{J_{ij}}{J_i}}{\frac{G_{ij}}{G_i}} = \frac{\frac{J_{ij}}{G_{ij}}}{\frac{J_i}{G_i}}$$

Appendix 14: Jewish and total population in the Austrian Crown lands, 1857–1910,

Number of the Jewish population							Number of the total population					
	1857	1869	1880	1890	1900	1910	1857	1869	1880	1890	1900	1910
Austrian Crown lands	620,896	822,220	1,005,394	1,143,305	1,224,896	1,313,687	17,603,604	20,394,980	22,144,244	23,895,413	26,107,304	28,571,934
Bohemia	86,436	89,539	94,449	94,479	92,745	85,798	4,778,693	5,106,069	5,560,818	5,808,702	6,318,697	6,769,237
Moravia	41,529	42,899	44,175	45,324	44,255	41,174	1,867,094	2,017,274	2,153,407	2,276,870	2,435,081	2,622,224
Silesia	3,280	6,142	8,580	10,042	11,988	13,431	443,912	513,352	565,475	605,649	680,529	756,949
Galicia	448,973	575,918	686,596	772,213	811,371	871,804	4,597,870	5,444,689	5,958,907	6,607,816	7,295,538	8,024,524
Lower Austria	6,999	52,350	95,058	128,729	157,278	184,847	1,681,697	1,990,708	2,330,621	2,661,799	3,086,382	3,531,574

Increase of the Jewish population							Increase of the total population					
	1857/69	1869/80	1880/90	1890/1900	1900/10		1857/69	1869/80	1880/90	1890/1900	1900/10	
Austrian Crown lands	32.4	22.3	13.7	7.1	7.2		15.9	8.6	7.9	9.3	9.4	
Bohemia	3.6	5.5	0.0	-1.8	-7.5		6.9	8.9	4.5	8.8	7.1	
Moravia	3.3	3.0	2.6	-2.4	-7.0		8.0	6.7	5.7	6.9	7.7	
Silesia	87.3	39.7	17.0	19.4	12.0		15.6	10.2	7.1	12.4	11.2	
Galicia	28.3	19.2	12.5	5.1	7.4		18.4	9.4	10.9	10.4	10.0	
Lower Austria	648.0	81.6	35.4	22.2	17.5		18.4	17.1	14.2	16.0	14.4	

Source: Thon (1908); Census 1910; author's computations.

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"Jews in Central-Western Europe were among the extraordinary forerunners of a demographic transition ... (that) gradually expanded to the rest of European societies, and eventually to the near totality of humankind. This study by Jana Vobecká skillfully explores how and why it all began in Bohemia... ."

—Sergio DellaPergola, Professor Emeritus, The Avraham Harman Institute of Contemporary Jewry, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

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